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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

OCTOBER MEETING, 1876.

A STATED meeting was held on Thursday, 12th instant, at 11 o'clock, A.M.; the President, Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The record of the preceding meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian read his monthly list of donors to the Library. Special mention was made of the gift of a large number of books relating to the Rebellion, by Mr. Amos A. Lawrence, whose contributions to this department of the Society's Library have been continuous for a number of years.

The President then said,—

We have had a long vacation, gentlemen. In the whole history of our Society, running through more than eighty years, I doubt whether there has ever been so long an interval between our meetings. We met last on the 11th of May; and it is now the 12th of October,—five months and a day.

When Dr. Ellis made the motion for so long a suspension of our customary proceedings, he certainly exhibited a wise forecast. The intense heat of the past summer was, indeed, enough of itself to dissolve any good purposes of literary or historical labor. But when we remember, also, the varied and distracting avocations of not a few of us during this Centennial year, we may well be satisfied that we had been exempted in advance from any positive obligations in this quarter. We return to those obligations, I trust, with a refreshed sense of their interest and importance, and with a renewed purpose to discharge them punctually and faithfully.

Meantime, we have abundant evidence here to-day that at least one of our number has not been idle during our vacation.

Our indefatigable and invaluable Recording Secretary has not only brought out several serial numbers of Proceedings and of Collections during the summer, but this very morning he has laid upon the table a new volume of Proceedings, and a new serial of a second volume of the Belknap Papers.

The Proceedings, let me add, are brought down to the very last meeting, inclusive; so that the next volume, or serial, will begin with what we may do or say to-day.

Let me not omit to mention that Mr. Deane has not merely printed in this volume what others have communicated, but that most interesting and valuable portions of the volumes, and particularly the closing pages, are of his own production. The Indenture of David Thomson and others, as annotated and illustrated by Mr. Deane, is an important contribution to our earliest history; and I have a special satisfaction in having supplied the material which has been worked up so ably and satisfactorily.

Let me offer a resolution:—

That the thanks of the Society be returned to our faithful Recording Secretary for the serials and the volume which he has laid upon the table this morning.

The Resolution was unanimously adopted, and the President proceeded:—

We may not forget this morning, gentlemen, that during our long vacation we have lost a distinguished and venerable name from the roll of our living Resident Members.

Hardly three years have elapsed since, in speaking of the late Colonel Thomas Aspinwall, in the new Town Hall of his native place, I was able to say that, “until a few weeks past, he had exhibited so little of old age, except its experience, its wisdom, and its venerableness, that no one was ready to give credit to the tale which he sometimes told of a birthday in Brookline eighty-six or eighty-seven years ago.”

Later still, at our monthly meeting in June, 1873, our associate, Mr. Sibley, in referring to the aged graduates of Harvard University, made graceful allusion to the personal presence of Colonel Aspinwall, a graduate of the year 1804.

But that was his very last appearance among us. He could no longer contend against the infirmities of mind and body which weighed upon him so heavily. He might still be seen, even to the last week of his life, taking his occasional exercise, and threading his way along our crowded sidewalks, with a sturdy step and something of the old martial air, but rec-

ognizing no one out of his own family, and remembering little or nothing of matters or things either recent or remote.

He died on Friday, the 11th of August, at his residence in Hancock Street in this city, at the age of ninety years two months and nineteen days, having been born in Brookline on the 23d of May, 1786.

His funeral took place on the following Monday afternoon at Brookline; and nothing but absence from the State prevented me from attending it. Both personally and officially I should have felt bound to be present, had it been in my power.

He had been connected with our Society longer than any other member at the time of his death. He was chosen a Corresponding Member in July, 1833, while he was American Consul in London; and, soon after his return home, in April, 1855, he was elected a Resident Member.

He was on our Standing Committee for four years, and was on the Publishing Committee for three volumes of our Collections.

From 1862 to 1870, he was one of our Vice-Presidents.

During his resident membership, he made valuable communications at our meetings and important contributions to our Historical Collections. His Papers on the Narragansett Patent, and on William Vassall, and his admirable tribute to his friend, General Winfield Scott, on the death of the old hero, will be remembered by us all.

But the ninth and tenth volumes of the Fourth Series of our Collections, both printed in 1871, furnish a still more recent and more adequate memorial of his labors in our behalf. Entitled "The Aspinwall Papers," and supplied wholly from the materials gathered by himself in England, they will keep his name fresh and fragrant where he would most desire that it should not be forgotten. We have no other volumes, I think, and may never again have, edited and annotated by one who had already reached his eighty-fifth year!

Colonel Aspinwall was a man of the highest integrity and the most ardent patriotism. On the first breaking out of the War of 1812, he abandoned his profession as a lawyer, and took a commission as Major in the Army of the United States. He was brevetted a Lieutenant-Colonel for his gallantry at Sacket's Harbor in 1813, and a Colonel for his courage and conduct at Fort Erie in 1814, where he lost his left arm in battle. On the restoration of peace, though offered the position of Inspector-General, he preferred civil service, and was soon afterwards appointed Consul at London. In that

capacity, he served his country diligently and faithfully until 1853, — a term of thirty-eight years. During this period, he formed the intimate friendship of such men as Joshua Bates, the benefactor of our Boston Public Library, and Washington Irving, whose publishing contracts were made through him, and to whom he paid a most interesting tribute at one of our meetings, in 1859.

I will dwell no longer on the details of his career, which may well form the subject of a formal Memoir, according to our custom.

It is enough to say of him that he had the respect, esteem, and affection of all who knew him. A braver and more independent spirit has hardly dwelt among us. He measured his patriotism by no party standard. Always for his country, its constitution, and its union, he was as sincere and earnest in its cause when it was assailed from within as when he was personally combating against a foreign foe. But he had his own opinions as to men and measures, and never flinched from the responsibility of avowing them and acting upon them.

I can close this brief notice in no way more appropriately than by reading a portion of a letter lately received from our worthy Honorary Member, Mr. Grigsby, who illustrates Colonel Aspinwall's acuteness in historical inquiries as follows:—

“How well-timed my visit to Boston in 1867! I saw Ticknor, and Jeffries Wyman, and good Mr. Folsom, and Colonel Aspinwall, who has just gone. Let me give you a reminiscence of Colonel Aspinwall. I was introduced to him in the hall of the Historical Society, on my visit, in June, 1867. A short time before, I had written a letter, which appeared in ‘The Proceedings,’ relating to the origin of the name of Newport News, and endeavored to show that the true name was Newport Newce, in honor of Sir William Newce, the Marshal of the Virginia Colony in 1621. I would add that I believe there did not then exist half a dozen men in the United States who knew that such a man as Sir William Newce ever appeared upon the stage in Virginia or elsewhere. You may imagine, then, my surprise, when Colonel Aspinwall, almost immediately after my introduction to him, said to me, with an evident sense of interest in the question, ‘Mr. Grigsby, why do you believe that the name of Newce was taken from Sir *William*, instead of from his brother *George*?’ I was so struck with the question, coming from an old gentleman, then in his eighty-third year, and known to me only as one of the heroes

of the War of 1812, and as the Consul at London, that I answered playfully, 'To tell you the truth, Colonel Aspinwall, I did not know that Sir William had a brother.' When I had thus expressed my admiration of his minute historical knowledge, I assigned the obvious reasons, that he had been largely endowed by the Virginia Company, that he was the most distinguished military and naval officer in the colony, and that he was the only one who had attained to the dignity of knighthood.

The venerable patriot must have had a happy life,—military fame; forty years in the leading foreign consulate; and an old age of competence, respect, and honor; and the only one, out of the hundred thousand of his fellow-beings who began life with him, who passed beyond the milestone of ninety; while Macaulay went off in the fifties; Scott, Prescott, Choate, in the sixties; Folsom and Everett in the seventies; Ticknor almost, and Savage quite, in the eighties."

With the authority of the Council, I now propose the following resolutions:—

Resolved, That in the death of the venerable Thomas Aspinwall this Society has lost one of its oldest and most respected members, to whom we are indebted for important and valuable services, and whose memory is worthy of being cherished as that of a gallant soldier in his youth, a faithful public servant abroad in his manhood, and a useful and patriotic citizen at home in his more advanced years.

Resolved, That the President be instructed to appoint one of our members to prepare the customary memoir of Colonel Aspinwall for our Proceedings.

Mr. ELLIS AMES then said, —

I will not trench upon the province of our associate who shall be appointed to write for our Proceedings a sketch of the life of our late associate, Colonel Thomas Aspinwall. Colonel Aspinwall's fame was known to me long before I heard the name of any other member of this Society, and before quite a number of them were born. I have a remembrance, though somewhat indistinct, when the news arrived that the son of our nearest neighbor, himself formerly a soldier under Washington, was killed in the battle at Sacket's Harbor, May 29, 1813, a private in the regiment of Colonel Aspinwall, then Lieutenant-colonel commanding. The volunteers of the year 1813, from what are now the four Bridgewater, Easton, Stoughton, Canton, and Sharon, all enlisted in Colonel Aspinwall's regi-

ment. In subsequent years, I knew the survivors of the soldiers of his regiment from those towns, and often talked with them. At the mention of Colonel Aspinwall's name, their countenances brightened, and they bore ample testimony to his bravery as a soldier and to his great ability as an officer. They are now all dead; and, though he lost an arm at the *sortie* from Fort Erie, Sept. 12, 1814, yet he survived all the soldiers of his command.

Upon inquiry into the particulars as to the fall of the son of our neighbor, I found that he was slain by a musket-ball that struck him in his forehead, and that the fur upon his soldier's cap, where the bullet entered, was burnt by the flash of the powder from the musket of the enemy who killed him. Upon further inquiry, it was stated to me by his surviving comrades that the British troops who made that attack upon Sacket's Harbor were veteran troops; and that, knowing Colonel Aspinwall's regiment and the other regiments were new levies, the British determined to frighten them from their position, taken in some new log-barracks in an open space near the town, and for that purpose the British troops marched up to the new levies, and made desperate efforts to dislodge them, and the battle was fought for more than an hour by a portion of both armies discharging their muskets in each other's faces. This explains the burning of the fur of the soldier's cap.

Neither Colonel Aspinwall nor his men budged an inch. From our considerable acquaintance with him, it requires not much draft upon our imagination to see how he moved from rank to rank at Sacket's Harbor, with his stentorian voice encouraging his men amid the roar of musketry almost in his face and eyes.

Often have I looked at him as he, for more than twenty years, has sat at our board, and scanned the lineaments of the countenance that inspired the Ninth Regiment to stand and give and receive fire in the faces of the British regulars at Sacket's Harbor.

The soldiers of the Continental line from Massachusetts who fought the battles of the Revolution after the war chiefly moved to and settled in Ohio, while the soldiers of the Continental line from Virginia who fought the same battles chiefly moved to and settled in Kentucky. True to the maxim that "*blood will tell*," the soldiers from Ohio and Kentucky, sons of the soldiers of the Revolution, performed the greatest and most signal part of the military service in the last war with Great Britain.

The young men of Massachusetts, whether as privates or officers, who volunteered and fought the battles of the War of 1812, against trained veteran troops from Europe, were a wonderful class of men, deserve the brightest laurels that their country can bestow, and their memory should be thoroughly perpetuated by history.

Colonel Aspinwall was learned in military science and in the history of the country, and, to one who was inquisitive, was very communicative as to things that he "*had seen and part of which he was,*" and "would have been an honor to any country," as he was to his own.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Prof. William Stubbs, M.A., of Oxford, was elected an Honorary Member.

A very handsome volume was presented to the Society, entitled "Memoir of Mrs. Anne Jean Lyman," by her daughter, Mrs. Susan I. Lesley. It was profusely illustrated with photographs of old family-houses, and with two portraits of Judge Lyman. Letters from R. W. Emerson, George B. Emerson, Mr. Hillard, and other well-known persons, were included in the volume, which was "privately printed." The volume was presented by Edward H. R. Lyman and Susan I. Lesley, through Mr. J. R. Lowell.

The thanks of the Society were ordered for the gift.

The President called attention to a gift from Mr. Bancroft of a full set of his History of the United States, for which the thanks of the Society were ordered.

The President spoke of Dr. H. M. Dexter's intended departure for Europe; and he expressed the hope that the Society would accredit him to represent it on any fitting occasion, and to negotiate any exchanges of publications, &c., as was done in his own case and in that of Mr. Deane. Whereupon, it was

Voted, That the Secretary draw up the proper paper for that purpose.

A new volume of the Proceedings, embracing the transactions of the Society from April, 1875, to May, 1876, inclusive, was reported as ready for distribution, together with the last serial of that volume, which included the account of the May meeting.

A serial of the "Belknap Papers," concluding Vol. I., and the first part of Vol. II., were also announced as ready for distribution.

A large historical map of the United States was presented

by Mr. Blanchard, of Chicago, through our Vice-President, Mr. Adams, for which a grateful acknowledgment was ordered.

Professor EVERETT presented a large-paper copy of Captain Back's Journal of his expedition along the shores of the Arctic Ocean.

The President communicated the following letter from Admiral Thatcher relative to the portraits of General Knox:—

Corcoran Gallery of Art, WASHINGTON, June 24, 1876.

Hon. ROBT. C. WINTHROP.

DEAR SIR,—Yours of the 21st was received yesterday, and I now return to you Admiral Thatcher's letter about the Knox portraits, with the warmest thanks to you, your friend, and the Admiral for the interesting and important information it contains. While none of our trustees nor myself believed the portrait sent here to be the work of Stuart's hand, Admiral Thatcher's letter gives a positive foundation to our objections, and will be of service to us, if ever other copies of Stuart's portrait of General Knox are submitted for purchase, which is not unlikely, considering how every thing from his pencil has risen in value. With this view I have gladly availed myself of the privilege of copying the enclosed, as part of our artistic records.

Very respectfully yours, &c.,

WM. MACLEOD, *Curator.*

WINCHESTER, June 16, 1876.

DEAR SIR,—Yours of 8th inst. would have met with early attention, had I been at home: having this moment returned, I hasten to reply to your favor.

With regard to the portrait of Major-General Henry Knox, now in "Faneuil Hall," I beg to say that it was an original by Stuart, given by the family to the city of Boston; and I am not aware that Stuart ever painted any other of him. Copies have from time to time been taken from that now on the walls of Faneuil Hall. The first copy that I know any thing of was taken by Hoyt for the family then occupying the old mansion-house of the General at Thomaston, Maine, and remained there some years, or until the decease of my mother,—who was his eldest daughter,—when it came into my possession, and is now hanging in my parlor. I am aware that a copy was also taken from the original for the State House at Augusta, Maine, in conformity with a resolve of the legislature of that State, but the sum appropriated by the said legislature was so small that only an inferior artist could be procured. I have seen it in the vestibule of that State House, and consider it a complete failure. I have also, in various places, seen the result of sundry other similar attempts to copy from the original, all of which are, in my opinion, perfect failures to reach Stuart, either in delineation, expression, or coloring. The copy in my possession by Hoyt is considered as a complete success.

Many years ago I heard of a portrait of the General at Trenton,

N. J., in possession of a lady (one of his admirers), taken during the occupation of that State by our forces under "Washington," but I know nothing of its merits. I am of opinion that the original never was carried out of Boston, and certainly *never* hung on the walls of his home in Maine.

I can only say, in closing, that the party at the South is undoubtedly misinformed in relation to Stuart's painting of Knox.

With great respect, I am, dear sir, truly yours,

HENRY KNOX THATCHER.

WM. G. BROOKS, Esq., 71 Hancock Street, Boston.

He also called attention to a gift from the author of a volume entitled "*Cours graduel et complet de Chinois parlé et écrit, par le Comte Kleczkowski*," &c., in which he had inscribed the following: "*A la Société Historique du Massachusetts. Hommage très empressé et très respectueux de l'auteur (gendre de feu et toujours regretté Frédéric Tudor), Michel Alexandre, Cte. Kleczkowski, Paris, 69 rue de Morny, ce 10 Juin, 1876.*"

Dr. GREEN read the following Memoir of the late M. Jean Frédéric de Waldeck, a Corresponding Member, who died last year, May 2, at the age of one hundred and nine years one month and sixteen days, his name having some years ago been inadvertently omitted from the list of Corresponding Members:—

M. Jean Frédéric de Waldeck was chosen a Corresponding Member of this Society, September 26, 1839. At the time of his election, he was far advanced in life, having considerably passed the limit of threescore years and ten. His name has long since been dropped from the Society's roll of living members, as it was erroneously supposed that he had already paid the debt to Nature. His death, which occurred in Paris, did not take place till the 2d of May, 1875, thus adding another instance of remarkable longevity to those cited by Dr. Palmer, in the "Proceedings" for August, 1865 (page 434).

M. de Waldeck was distinguished not only as a traveller and an artist, but also as having passed, by nearly a decade, the disputed boundary of the hundredth year of life. He was born March 16, 1766, and at the time of his death had reached the remarkable age of one hundred and nine years, one month and sixteen days. There seems to be no reasonable doubt about the date of his birth. He came from an ancient family of Prague, and from an early period of his life was engaged in labors that kept him in the world's eye. His case in this

respect is unlike the instances of extreme old age so frequently reported in this country among the lower classes, — notably among the blacks, — where the absence of registration of the time of birth gives the opportunity for extravagant reports which cannot be refuted with authority. When only nineteen years of age, he went with Levallant to the Cape of Good Hope, in South Africa. On his return to Paris, in 1788, he began the study of art, and worked under the direction of David and Prud'hon. This experience was afterward of much service to him in his travels.

In the year 1793, de Waldeck was present at the siege of Toulon, and in 1794 joined the army in Italy as a volunteer. In 1798, he followed the expedition into Egypt; not as a soldier, however, but as an observer. After the failure of Napoleon's designs in that region, de Waldeck determined to travel in Africa, and accordingly, he set out with four other adventurers on an expedition which was to traverse the continent from north to south. Sickness, however, attacked the little party, and his four companions died, leaving him alone. He was able only to reach the Portuguese settlements on the coast, after four months of danger and privation. In the year 1819 he visited Chili; and later made an archaeological expedition to Guatemala, and on his return established himself in London. Here he was engaged in preparing the lithographic drawings which were to illustrate a work upon the ruins of Palenque and Chiapas. Thinking that the designs he had been employed to put on stone were incorrect, he determined to visit the ruins for himself, which he did; and passed three years studying them in detail, and making maps of the region. On his return to Europe, after an absence of twelve years in the New World, he sold to the French government his drawings made in Palenque, and their publication was begun in 1863. After his one hundredth year, he himself made the lithographs for the work. Two of his pictures, some years ago, attracted considerable attention, because he had put on the frame these words: "Recreations of a Centenarian," an inscription that is rarely within the reach of mortal man.

The President then gave an account of a portrait of Franklin, now at Airdrie House, Airdrie, Scotland, as furnished him by Henry Deedes, Esq., of London.

"It was painted by Martin in London, when the Doctor was about sixty years old. It was ordered and paid for by Robert Alexander, then of the house of William Alexander &

Sons, of Edinburgh, and was designed to perpetuate the circumstance of his advice given in consequence of the perusal of certain important papers. After the death of Robert, it descended to his brother William Alexander. Jonathan Williams, a grandson of Franklin, having married the daughter of William Alexander, the portrait was given to them, to descend to the eldest male heir perpetually as the joint representative of both families."

It seems that Dr. Franklin was so well satisfied with Martin's portrait that he had a duplicate painted at his own expense, and sent to his family; and this duplicate is the well-known portrait, by Martin, now in Philadelphia.

Mr. DENNY said he had just come from the auction sale (at Leonard's) of Dr. Shurtleff's copy of the Bay Psalm Book, and that it brought \$1,025.

The President communicated the following original letter of Franklin to Professor John Winthrop, also Winthrop's reply preserved in a copy written on the same sheet. The Society is indebted to the courtesy of our Corresponding Member, Col. John Winthrop, for the use of these letters for publication:—

LONDON, June 6, 1770.

DEAR SIR, — I find among my papers a letter of yours, dated Dec. 7, 1769, which I must have had some months in my hands; and tho' I think I have answered it, I am not certain; a multiplicity of business during the late sessions of Parliament having occasioned a forgetting of some circumstances. It will only be a little unnecessary labour if I answer it again.

I did give a particular answer to Mr. Maskelyne's queries relating to lightning-rods. I have likewise given sets of directions for erecting them to several persons who desired it; and I think that all I know of the matter may be collected from different parts of my printed papers. But, as many have not an opportunity of seeing that book, to make the thing more publick, I purpose to follow your advice, and draw up a more compleat instruction to workmen than I have yet given, to be inserted in the Magazines. St. Paul's Church is now guarded agreeable to the directions of a committee of our society; and many gentlemen's houses in the villages round London are now furnished with conductors.

You will see in the last and the next volume of Transactions whatever the Society think fit to publish of the observations received relating to the transit. Those made in the South Sea are not yet come to hand, but are now daily expected.

Captain Hall paid me the 52s. you sent p him. I have sent you the Transactions, and I think the print you mention also, but am not certain. Please to say if you have receiv'd it.

I wonder much that you had not received the Galilean glasses, and shall write again to Philadelphia about them this day.

I bespoke your Achromatic Telescope, and I now understand that it is finished. It shall be sent by the first ship.

Towards the beginning of last winter spots were seen in the sun here by the naked eyes of multitudes of people, the streets being full of gazers for several hours. The smoke of the town serv'd the purpose of colour'd glasses.

Your observation of the transit of Mercury I gave to Mr. Maskelyne and to the Society. I suppose it will be printed with one you sent formerly to Mr. Short, which it seems was never published.

I inclose an extract of Mr. Maskelyne's letter to me relating to your last observation.

With the greatest esteem and respect, I am ever, dear sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

JOHN WINTHROP, Esq.

CAMBRIDGE, Oct. 26, 1770.

DEAR SIR, — I received your favors of June 6 and July 9 at the same time. I am very glad to find your admirable invention of lightning-rods is coming into fashion in England, and cannot but think your circulating particular directions for making them by the magazines will greatly promote the use of them. I have on all occasions encouraged them in this country, and have the satisfaction to find that it has not been without effect. A little piece I inserted in our newspapers last summer induced the people of Waltham (a town a few miles from hence) to fix rods upon their steeple, which had just before been much shattered and set on fire by lightning. They are now becoming pretty common among us, and numbers of people seem convinced of their efficacy.

I received the Transactions for 1768, but was disappointed in not finding the print which I had requested with them. I hope you will soon meet with a good opportunity to send it. The Achromatic Telescope is come safely. It is very elegant, and, I believe, by the trials I have hitherto made of it, a very good one. I have the honor to transmit to you the thanks of the Corporation for the repeated instances of your kindness to the College. I suppose Mr. Hubbard has or will direct the payment out of moneys in the hands of Mr. Mauduit. The Galilean glasses did arrive from Philadelphia the end of May last, accompanied by a very polite letter from Mr. Galloway, dated in August preceding. I am directed to thank Mr. Ellicott for them, which I shall do by this conveyance, if possible.

I thank you very kindly for your care of my papers and in forwarding Mr. Maskelyne's obliging letter and the Nautical Almanac for 1770 to me. I am greatly obliged to that gentleman for his favorable acceptance of my dissertations, and for the valuable present of that Almanac, which I find a most useful performance, and shall be very glad of that for 1771, if he has sent it to you, as you intimate he

talked of doing. I will do myself the honor to write Mr. Maskelyne when I have any observations that seem worth laying before him.

I look on myself as under singular obligation for your friendship in communicating my paper on the aberration to the Rev. Mr. Price before you ventured it in public. It gives me pleasure to find myself supported by so judicious a sponsor. I have with satisfaction perused his paper on that subject which you inclosed to me, but, that I may not swell your letter, shall throw what I have to say upon it into a separate paper, which, if you think worth while, may be sent to Mr. Price.

Upon this occasion, sir, give me leave to mention to you that a year or two ago I was informed by some gentlemen of our Corporation that you had intimated a desire to Mr. Nathaniel Rogers, when in London, that Mr. Price should have a doctorate from the College. The gentlemen appeared ready to fall in with your proposal, but, hearing nothing further from you upon it, nothing has been done in the affair. I know gentlemen here have the highest opinion of Mr. Price's merit. I know, too, they will be glad upon all opportunities to express the sense they have of their obligations to you. If you should think proper to signify a desire of this kind, I cannot think the affair would meet with any difficulty. At least I would do all in my power to promote it.

I congratulate my countrymen on the judicious choice our representatives made yesterday of Dr. Franklin for their agent in this time of difficulty. I have no doubt every thing will be done that is possible to be done to avert the cruel blow aimed at our charter rights by those implacable enemies to this Province and to the general cause of liberty.

I am with the most entire esteem and respect, dear sir,

Your most obliged and most humble servant,

JOHN WINTHROP.

P. S. I send by the bearer of this 52s. sterling for the volume of Transactions for 1769.

The President communicated an English translation of the "Conclusions Historiques," which our Foreign Honorary Member, Count Adolphe de Circourt, had appended to the second volume of the "Histoire de l'Action Commune de la France et de l'Amérique pour l'Indépendance des États-Unis, par George Bancroft."

In offering this communication, the President said that it was well remembered by us all that the last volume of Mr. Bancroft's elaborate "History of the United States" dealt largely and minutely with the alliance between France and the United States in 1778, under a treaty in the negotiation of which our own Franklin had played so distinguished a part, and which had always been so prominently associated

with the ultimate success of our struggle for independence. That volume had naturally attracted great attention in France; and M. de Circourt, with the concurrence of his friend, Mr. Bancroft, had translated it into the French language, and had published it as an independent work, in three volumes, under the title which has been given. The French translation was accompanied by notes, and by a large mass of hitherto unpublished original documents, which had been kindly furnished by Mr. Bancroft for the purpose. But, in addition to the annotations and the documents, M. de Circourt had incorporated into the second volume a Paper of his own, under the title of "Conclusions Historiques," giving a summary sketch of the history of the rise and progress of American Independence, from his own point of view. This Paper, which occupied nearly a hundred pages of the second volume of the French publication, had been thought worthy of special notice in France. M. Ch. Giraud, an eminent juriconsult and distinguished Academician, in presenting a copy of the three volumes to the French Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, after paying a just tribute to the historical labors of Mr. Bancroft, a Corresponding Member of the Academy, spoke of M. de Circourt's "Conclusions Historiques" as a very important contribution, worthy to be commended to the public attention. And I have seen (continued the President) a letter of our senior Honorary Member, M. Mignet, the brilliant French historian, in which, after speaking of Mr. Bancroft's volume, and of the precious documents, hitherto unpublished, by which it is enriched, he goes on to characterize the "Conclusions" as broad, wise, deep,—a philosophical *résumé* of the memorable American Revolution; a skilful review of the causes which led to it, and of the events which marked its progress; an elevated judgment of the position and spirit of the men most distinguished in it, and a clear indication of the consequences which were to follow it,—“a true picture, in short, drawn by a firm hand.”

It was thought by many of us—and I am glad to say that Mr. Bancroft cordially concurred in the opinion—that such a contribution to the history of our country, from such a source, should not be suffered to remain unrecognized in our own land, and that its publication in the English language, under the auspices of a Society of which M. de Circourt is an Honorary Member, and whose name he has associated with his own on the title-page of his volumes, would be only an act of justice at once to him, to ourselves, and to history. M. de Circourt acquiesced in our desire as soon as it was

communicated to him, and prepared a brief "Avant-Propos," or Prefatory Note, as an explanation of his Paper.

The President said that he would only add, that the translation had been kindly prepared, as a labor of love for the Society, by an accomplished lady, who had positively forbidden the mention of her name, and to whom we could thus only return what might be called, in an unusual sense, an anonymous acknowledgment. That acknowledgment, however, would not be the less grateful and cordial on that account, and he should feel himself charged by the Society to present its best thanks to the translator for her obliging labors in our behalf. He would now commit the Paper, with the leave of the Society, to the Committee on the publication of our Proceedings, who would pass judgment on its appropriateness for our volumes.

HISTORICAL CONCLUSIONS OR REVIEW,

BY THE

COUNT ADOLPHE DE CIRCOURT.

PREFACE.

THE tenth volume of the "History of the United States," by the Hon. George Bancroft, contains the story of events in America from the formation of the alliance with the French Crown to the peace of Versailles, — from 1778 to 1783.

In 1876 there was published at Paris, by Vieweg, a work entitled "*Histoire de l'Alliance et de l'Action Commune de la France et de l'Amérique pour l'Indépendance des États-Unis.*"* The first part of this work contains a translation, by M. de Circourt, of Mr. Bancroft's tenth volume, which is a distinct and special portion of his great work. The second part comprises an original essay by M. de Circourt, with the title "Conclusions Historiques," and various unpublished diplomatic documents, generously placed at the disposal of the French translator and publisher by Mr. Bancroft. To these documents the work owes an interest that cannot be exaggerated. Drawn as they are from most authentic sources, and almost all hitherto unknown to the student of history, they throw a clear light on many negotiations whose consequences have become a part of the annals of the period the most fertile in revolutions and the most productive of new creations. Here we find the key to more than one event of great importance, hitherto an enigma; here we see the hidden spring of more than one decisive resolution. In particular, we find the views, opinions, and judgments of Frederick the Great on the events taking place in Europe and America, during the war for Independence, painted here in clear, strong colors, which contribute not a little to the understanding of that penetrating and powerful character, in turn inspired by ambition, enlightened by humanity, and swayed by policy.

It has been thought that these "Conclusions Historiques," although they have, and can rightly have, a place only in the French work, may yet possess enough interest for the American public to warrant their translation into English. Their author has willingly yielded to the suggestion; but he feels it an absolute duty to warn those American friends who may kindly read his essay, that its insufficiency will be manifest, unless it be read in connection with the work of Mr. Bancroft, and verified by the documents with which he has enriched the French edition.

* 3 vols. 8vo, Paris, 1876. Vieweg, publisher, 69 Rue de Richelieu.

It is almost superfluous to remark on the coincidence of this publication with the Centennial Jubilee of the independence of the United States, which is opening the source of so many grave reflections for Europe! The experience of a whole century enables us to-day to form a clearer and sounder judgment of the policy of the cabinet of Versailles under the good and unfortunate Louis XVI.; of that of the cabinet of Madrid under a king who loved the good of his subjects, but the views of whose minister were narrow; of that of the cabinet of St. James under an obstinate monarch, tossed by parliamentary struggles between two systems, — one trying to prolong the Past, the other to adapt itself to the will of the Future. Finally and especially, the grand lesson of all these glorious but painful experiences, of increasing prosperity and immense dangers, of passionate debates and hasty conclusions, only brings out more clearly the excellence of the character of Washington and his immortal coadjutors in the task which they succeeded in accomplishing at the end of fifteen years of struggle, of war, of effort, and agitation, — the task of conciliating respect for acquired rights with the interest of possible perfection; the preservation of ancient institutions consecrated by Justice with the exigencies of a new age; the solidity of the foundations of the political edifice with the grandeur of the buildings to be erected upon them; in a word, the passionate pursuit of Liberty with a submissive adoration of the great Author of all things, from whom all good comes, and to whom all good should be ascribed.

JUNE, 1876.

THE establishment of an independent nation in America, the part taken by France in the revolution from which it sprang, the constitution adopted by the new nation, and the principles on which it was founded from the beginning, make the year 1776 one of the most important of the eighteenth century down to 1789, and one of the greatest in the history of the human race.

Every event of that mighty revolution, understood only partially by its contemporaries, but revealing its full significance to our own time, should be studied both by itself and in its results.

Conquered and colonized by European nations, America, for nearly three centuries, had been considered both in theory and in practice the property of the Old World, destined to receive her surplus population, to be governed by the laws and to follow the fortunes of the European States which, enriched by her productions, divided and contended for her government.

The Greek colonies, when firmly established, became, as a rule, independent of the mother-country. The Romans, predestined to give to the Old World a higher civilization, pursued a different course. Rome held her colonies in strict subjection, gradually making a world of that which at first was only a city.*

* "Orbem fecisti quod prius urbs erat."

When America received civil and religious laws from the European nations, the latter had followed unhesitatingly the example of Rome, whose maxims still had paramount authority with modern, especially with western, nations. First Spain, which reluctantly, and only after futile struggles, gave up her claim to the exclusive possession of the Western Hemisphere, then Portugal, Holland, France, and England herself, pursued the same method in the colonies which they founded, and the territory they acquired beyond the ocean. But the English, who came to the Atlantic coast of America later than their rivals, were led by peculiar circumstances to establish colonies under special conditions which the English government could not at first fully comprehend, but of which the colonists themselves had from the beginning a full and clear understanding.

The colonists of New England and Virginia belonged to a free race, organized for the development of liberty under a monarchy. These two principal colonies were separated by New Netherlands, belonging to the Dutch, until the treaty of Breda,* by which the States-General ceded to England all that region which afterwards became New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. New Sweden, previously conquered by Holland, was comprised in this cession, and formed the province of Delaware. Under Charles II., James II., William III., and George I., the "Old Dominion,"† martial and fruitful Virginia, extended on the south to the magnificent colonies of the Carolinas and Georgia.

The whole territory between the Alleghanies and the Atlantic, with a temperate climate and varied productions, was, by successive grants from the time of Elizabeth‡ to that of George I., given to companies of *gentlemen* belonging to the class of English land-owners and capitalists.

These *cavaliers*, as they liked to be called, guarded jealously in their new home their pride in the principles of civil liberty, and their firm resolution to enjoy in their adopted country their English privileges; voluntarily subjected to law; paying only those taxes which they themselves levied; loyal in the main, but attached to the institution of royalty rather than to the person of the sovereign acknowledged by Great Britain, who reigned, it might be by right of birth, it might be by the force of revolution.

Very different were the original settlers of New England. This country, which persistent and skilled labor has made one of the richest regions in the New World, was, in the first half of the seventeenth century, a land of forests and swamps, with a barren soil, severe climate, and occupied by tribes who rebelled to the very end against European civilization, even after their old superstitions had yielded to the light of the gospel. On these shores, where subsistence must be gained by hard labor, the *pilgrims* landed. They belonged to Presbyterian congregations, over-jealous for the purity of their faith, and avoiding union even with other Protestants less severe in their views. These voluntary exiles had been loyal subjects in England, but they had the spirit

* 1667.

† 1680 to 1720.

‡ 1580 to 1730.

of republicanism, and they interpreted in favor of a democratic government the words of the Holy Spirit which they sought in both the Old and New Testaments. The royal power did not regret their departure from England, and they obtained without difficulty charters granting them popular institutions, in the broadest meaning of that term. But, in their relations with the mother-country, they continued subject to the regulations made by the English parliament for the commerce and navigation of the plantations or colonies. The New England provinces, originally six in number, but soon reduced to four,* became, with the full consent of the crown, true republics, where there was neither distinction of class nor hereditary rank; states governed according to the Bible and the elements of *common law*, placed under the protection of the English king and parliament, but free from taxation, and subject only to the commercial restrictions fixed by the mother-country. These provinces became the seat of a serious, generous people, enterprising, not too ambitious, governed by conscience, and possessing in a remarkable degree the character and virtues which the prophetic genius of Shakspeare assigned to the English race, when he foretold that her king should "make new nations."†¹

During the reign of two sovereigns, extremely jealous for their rights, England, still half-feudal and intensely monarchical, gave birth to societies which became the most prosperous and influential representatives in the Christian world of methods the direct opposite of those to which the mother-country still adhered. In the beginning, James I. and his son saw, in the colonization of New England, only a peaceful means of getting the suspected and embarrassing Puritans well out of the way. Charles I., when the differences between the parliament and the crown had become alarmingly bitter and continuous, felt some anxiety about these independent Puritan communities, growing so steadily on the other side of the ocean: by fits and starts, he forbade the emigration of especially dangerous persons, but there was no method in his action, and his charters equalled or surpassed in liberality that which his father had given in 1620 to the Plymouth pilgrims.

In the course of time, Western Europe contributed of its best to both the important elements of British colonization in America. While the Huguenots, banished from France, carried to the English colonies industrious habits, rigid morality, and religious enthusiasm, the mild, laborious, and charitable Society of Friends‡ founded, under William Penn, the flourishing city of Philadelphia, whose very name sums up the doctrine of the New Alliance; and Maryland, on the banks of the Potomac, was originally an open harbor of refuge for the English Catholics, who, by consent of the crown, were permitted in their new homes the exercise of political rights denied them in their native land.

* By the union of Plymouth, Boston, and Maine. The other three were Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island.

† Henry VIII., Act 5, Scene 4. This wonderful scene was written, at the latest in 1613, and possibly ten years earlier.

‡ A common name for Quakers, for which there is no explanation.

English America grew by combat. The generations who built up her power knew nothing of the lethargy which comes from the security of peace. All along the inland frontier, which was constantly pressed backward by cultivation and population, brave and obstinate tribes of Algonquin, Wyandot, Cherokee, and Mobile Indians, persistently fought the pioneers from the provinces. In South Carolina and Georgia, England had to conquer the claims rather than the arms of Spain; but to the north and west of the maritime region, to which until the middle of the eighteenth century English civilization had the wisdom to confine itself, a rival power arose and for a long time disputed the empire of the continent. In the New World, as in the Old, it was France who contested the superiority of England, and more than once threatened the very existence of the English colonies.

One cannot imagine a greater contrast than that which history shows between the principles and results of the systems followed by the two nations in the treatment of their North American dependencies. The English colonies were essentially Protestant, those of France were exclusively Catholic. The former were, from the first, political autonomies, on the model of a parliamentary constitution; the latter were creations of the crown, not emanations from the people; they were, to the last, subject at every point to the laws, the courts, the administrative guardianship of the mother-country, who sent them their magistrates, regulated every detail of their civil life, and, by means of monopolies, dwarfed their commerce and destroyed their industries. Again, while English colonization, clinging at first to the sea-board, developed gradually, keeping its compactness, and occupying only territory that it could people, the French, carried away by a passion for discovery, and by an impetuous temper that the rigor of government irritated instead of restraining, seemed to devour space, penetrating into the depths of the forests, and planting their flag on chosen sites along the great lakes and the tributaries of the "Father of Waters."* But, incapable of holding what their impulsive ambition had grasped, they were forced, after a glorious struggle, to yield to the better organization, the method, and the steady perseverance of their enemies. Little by little, the whole colonial empire, of which Louis XIV. had conceived the gigantic plan, fell under British rule; the peace of Ryswick stipulated for the abandonment of the northern settlements; † that of Utrecht ‡ for the cession of Newfoundland and Acadia; that of Aix-la-Chapelle § for the cession of Louisburg; at last the treaty of Versailles, signed in 1763, giving Canada to the English and Louisiana to the Spaniards, forced France to withdraw her lilies from that continent, to which she had nourished the proud hope of giving the name of the empire of the Bourbons.¶

As the Floridas fell to Great Britain by the peace of 1763, she had no foreign rival on the northern continent of the New World; but

* Indian name for the Mississippi.

† The Hudson Bay posts, 1697.

¶ Nouvelle France, Louisiane.

‡ 1713.

§ 1748.

dangers, which she had until then hardly foreseen, and the gravity of which she for a long time did not comprehend, threatened her from the heart of her oldest and dearest colonies.

The immense transatlantic empire of England was formed by adding new conquests to old possessions, and had no unity. On the north were Canada, Nova Scotia, and the islands which are their natural dependencies; in the south, the Floridas; between these, the thirteen colonies, governed according to charters granted by England, and settled by born or naturalized Englishmen; finally, in the west, there was a vast, almost unexplored territory, divided by the Ohio River, into two nearly equal portions, occupied chiefly by Indians, but where French colonists had already begun settlements. The conquest and possession of these was considered one of the greatest advantages which England gained from the Seven Years' War.*

Wherever European culture had been introduced by France and Spain, even in those provinces where conquest had changed the nationality of the inhabitants (as was the case in the peninsula of Acadia), Great Britain found obedient subjects, and could establish, without opposition, laws favorable to English power and English commerce. Those possessions that, with the exception of Florida, Great Britain still holds, were, at the time of their cession, very thinly populated. In 1713, Acadia had only 20,000 souls; in 1760, all Canada had but 60,000. If we add 40,000 for the islands and for Florida, from 1713 to 1758, we have only 100,000 Europeans in those countries, which under the rule, or, more accurately speaking, under the protection of Great Britain, have seen their population increase, in a single century, to 3,860,000.†

But, if England could act freely, and with perfect safety, in the countries which she had conquered, her position was wholly different in the colonies, which were her children, whose fortunes had been one with hers from their foundation.

The misunderstanding between the mother-country and the colonies dates back to the reign of James II.;‡ but for several generations the tendencies toward separation, and the strong wish for independence, had been held in check by the feeling of a common danger to be repulsed, of a common overpowering interest to be made victorious.

While the duel between France and Great Britain lasted on the continent, the sovereigns of the Houses of Stuart, Orange, and Brunswick, found in the provinces only *Englishmen*, ready to sacrifice every thing for the defence of their country, and the conquest of the French posts, which were near enough to be troublesome. When this war, which had lasted almost through the century,‡ ended, the thirteen provinces were already organized as States, and busy with their own

* 1756 to 1763 for Europe and the East Indies. In America the war began in 1754, and virtually ended at the close of 1760.

† Census of 1871-2.

‡ War broke out between France and England in 1624, but was soon ended. It was renewed with violence in 1689; but it had continued in the hearts of the colonists of both nations, even while their governments were at peace.

civil affairs, while the mother-country continued to treat them as colonies.

The thirteen provinces contained at that time 2,200,000 inhabitants, not counting the small number of native Indians. The negroes, whom a fatal speculation had introduced upon the Southern plantations, and scattered to some extent through the Northern States, were not one-sixth of this number. This great population, with a vast extent of fertile land was no longer a mere *colony*: It was a *nation*! It could no longer be a dependency: it was an empire. These truths, or rather these ideas, had taken root in the Anglo-American mind, which general education had prepared for the boldest thought; but the mother-country understood very differently the relations which her colonies should hold to her. She claimed sovereignty over the nation created by her care.

On this point, no especial blame attaches to the crown and the parliament of Great Britain. The principles which they declared and maintained were at the foundation of public law in every nation of Europe; while in the application of those principles to her American colonies Great Britain, with generous inconsistency, was far more lenient than Portugal, France, Holland herself, and especially than Spain. But this partial authority, confined to a few points, and with rare exceptions* enforced with marked discretion, was more than the colonists were willing to bear. English, for the most part, by race; English in language and manners,—they would not yield one of the political privileges enjoyed by their countrymen at home. It seemed unjust to them, and it irritated them that the British Parliament insisted upon absolute authority over the acts of the provincial assemblies which regulated taxes and the internal administration. They recognized the right of taxation only by legally elected representatives, and they had no representation in parliament. As to foreign countries, the Americans did not dispute the right of the king of Great Britain “to declare war, to conclude peace, to make treaties of commerce and friendship.” They also submitted to the navigation laws between American and foreign ports; but they claimed free communication, by land and sea, with all parts of that British Empire (whether in Europe or out of it), of which they were subjects!† They wished also perfectly free trade between the provinces, and the right of manufacturing their own productions as well as those of Great Britain. Finally, it was of great importance to them to preserve the right of building and selling merchant-vessels, and of sharing, in the American fisheries, all the advantages guaranteed to British subjects by the law of nations, and by special treaties. These claims naturally seemed unreasonable to the lawyers and statesmen of monarchical Europe. The freedom, always bold,

* Arbitrary and violent acts in the government of the provinces were confined in Virginia to the Protectorate of Cromwell, and in New England to the latter years of Charles II., and to the dark reign of James II.

† *Regnicole* is the French equivalent of the English word subject, in its technical meaning.

sometimes insolent, with which American organs vindicated them, in the face of the King and his ministers, prejudiced and to a certain degree irritated Parliament and the ruling classes in England. Nevertheless, as these claims had for foundation clauses in numerous laws, and, still more, the general spirit of the English Constitution, equity required that they should be attended to; prudence gave the same counsel, and, if it had been heeded, the destinies of the world would have been changed. But wounded pride and mistaken interest closed the ears and the hearts of English rulers against American complaints, up to the year 1782. It seems to us that an impartial study of this important and difficult question will lead to the conclusion that absolute right was on the side of the Americans, but that the conduct of the English Government and people deserves great indulgence. We speak, of course, of the causes of the war itself, not of its conduct by either side. We may well be astonished, however, at one of those contradictions so frequent in the political life of nations, and in which the tragic becomes ridiculous. As soon as the attention of Europe was drawn to the dispute between Great Britain and her colonies, the most earnest protests, the most pathetic pleas against the "criminal injustice and egotism" of the English nation, and, above all, of her government, were made by the two nations who had imposed and, continued to maintain in their transatlantic possessions the most despotic yoke, the most ingeniously oppressive system of rules, that can be imagined. Neither France nor Spain ever thought seriously of giving to their transatlantic settlements the smallest fraction of that freedom which, in good faith, doubtless, and with generous enthusiasm, they demanded, even with arms, for the English colonies, as the "prescriptive right of civilized nations." Americans, resting on the positive law of their country, and the common law of their native land, had better justification for the war which resulted in their independence.

Whilst every thing favored the growth of the colonies, the boundless resources of their soil, the uprightness of their lives, the wisdom of their provincial institutions, at least in comparison with others, the mother-country saw her means for controlling her American colonies lessen year by year. The provinces had never done any thing toward the maintenance of a standing army. The militia was, in time of peace, reduced to the garrisons of forts on the Indian frontier. The strength of this military organization had been shown in the French war; but, having at this time no foreign enemy, it existed merely as a barrier against royal pretensions, as a menace to the royal governors sent from beyond the sea. These had authority, which they frequently used, to dissolve the provincial assemblies; but they gained no real advantage from it, for the new elections gave constantly increasing majorities to the patriots and the sons of liberty, as the advocates of the absolute independence of the provinces called themselves. The Americans, on their side, could refuse to pay the salaries of the royal officers; and, undignified as this method was, it became the custom of the democratic legislators of the North. Great Britain garrisoned the castle in Boston, and other old forts which commanded the entrance to rivers or harbors; but

she kept only a small army, and parliament would not grant the money necessary to hold the colonies in check. It was the same with the squadrons cruising off the coast, of which all the expense was borne by the royal treasury. The mother-country would not submit, in time of peace, to expenditures of which, as she thought, America had all the benefit; whilst the colonies insisted that they were wholly in the interest of the royal prerogative, and absolutely refused to have any thing to do with them.

It was this question, apparently purely financial, but really involving the foundations of political order, which brought about the bitter dispute, in the reign of George III., between the provinces and the mother-country, — a dispute which could be settled only by arms, and which finally resulted in the war of which the later events are given in the work we have now offered to the public.

Parliament, alleging that the defence of the Colonies imposed very heavy burdens on the mother-country, and that the provinces, as part of the empire, should themselves contribute their fair share of the common expense, thought it right to impose a few taxes for the benefit of the royal treasury. They were laid on tea imported from China, then in general use; on glass and colors, and on written legal or financial transactions, for which stamped paper must be used, manufactured in England, and sold to the provinces by the exchequer. Taxes so light have seldom been imposed on a people living in almost universal comfort; but the colonies considered them despotic exactions, because they were levied by a parliament in which the American provinces had no representation. The fundamental principle of English constitutional liberty was directly attacked by this measure, so the provincial assemblies, without exception, protested against its execution, and encouraged the people to resistance. The objects on which these taxes were levied were in daily use, and the rejection of stamped paper would have put a stop to business, if private persons and public officers had not acted in direct violation of the *order in council*.

Resistance, at first passive and quiet, soon became turbulent and seditious. In even the most enlightened and religious communities, there are leas which it is dangerous to stir up, and which agitation among the better classes brings to the surface suddenly and fatally. Boston was then the principal city in the thirteen provinces. The lower class, heated by excitement, indulged in disgraceful outrages against the revenue officers, and many respectable citizens who did not share in the general enthusiasm. The European garrison made cruel reprisals, and by speedy action the city was put under martial law, and the harbor blockaded. The interruption to navigation, and the difficulty of land communication with the rest of the province, caused great suffering in Boston, for which the whole country testified the warmest sympathy. That city, the first to give passionate expression to the general sentiment of the colonies, was honored as a martyr to public liberty, and became the cradle of a revolution whose echoes the whole world heard.*

* 1772, 1773, and 1774.

The separate provinces enjoyed such wide and undisputed liberty, that they easily formed a regular and even legal league for the defence of their common interests. New York * proposed a congress of delegates. Massachusetts, the most populous and influential of the northern provinces,† eagerly supported the proposition, which was finally adopted by the thirteen colonies, and this "Continental Congress" (the inoffensive and significant name taken by the assembly) met in Philadelphia in September and October, 1774. In good faith these representatives of the American people still sought to avoid a rupture with the mother-country; but the proposals of the English Government were none the less declared inadmissible by these continental delegates, and the complaints of the colonies were sent to the royal ministers in a spirit which contained the threat of a complete and final separation. The duty of urging these claims upon the ministry devolved chiefly upon Benjamin Franklin,‡ a citizen who personified, as it were, the habits and principles of former generations, and the tendencies of the present. In England, the Postmaster-General of America, the physicist whom discoveries in natural science had made famous, could not fail to inspire respect. In France, men saw and welcomed with singular enthusiasm the architect of his own fortunes, who affected patriarchal simplicity in appearance and manners. They were struck at first by his peculiarities; but this impression soon gave place to admiration more ardent than reasonable.

In Great Britain, the feeling about American claims was divided. Very few persons realized the importance of the subject, and the extent of the still unused resources of America, now on the verge of insurrection.

In general this transatlantic England was regarded with kindness; it was liked for its courage and its attachment to civil liberty: but they wished it to maintain toward the mother-country the submissive attitude of a son toward a father who has protected his infancy and instructed his youth. Above all things, dismemberment of the empire was feared, and on this point the commercial and political interests were equally alarmed, and equally decided not to yield. In fact, no one in England or on either continent could foresee that friendship and extended commerce between two independent nations would much more than compensate for the losses produced by the dissolution of the political tie which had united them.

This result which statesmen and business men thought impossible, because it was opposed to administrative and commercial routine, was nevertheless brought about, in spite of the bitterness and blind prejudices born of the long and bloody war, on both sides of the Atlantic. More than one generation passed, however, before confidence and cor-

* May, 1774.

† June, 1774.

‡ Benjamin Franklin, born in Boston in 1706, resided in London, as the agent for New England, from 1757. He was recalled in 1775, and soon sent back to Europe on a very different mission, which occupied him till 1788. He saw the beginning of the French revolution, as he lived till 1790.

diality were restored. The complicated questions arising from the rights of neutrals and the immunity of flags were decided differently in England and America, caused numberless combats and acts of violence on all the seas, and resulted in another formal war between Great Britain and the American Union (1812 to 1815). Time was again needed for these new wounds to heal, and commerce to resume its peaceful course. But when we compare the amount which the colonies, on the most favorable hypothesis, would, as a part of the British Empire, have contributed to the royal treasury, with the magnificent sums the United States now pour into Great Britain, in spite of the often oppressive (and as we believe unwise) duties laid by Congress, we must conclude that like all the legitimate results of true liberty the emancipation of the thirteen provinces should have been agreed to in 1774 by Great Britain; that it should have been seen as a material advantage for commerce and manufactures, which were then taking great strides, and becoming an important factor in general policy. But at that time England had not the indispensable teaching of experience, and in the discussion of new questions the first decision almost always comes from pride and prejudice.

George III. had been on the British throne* for fourteen years. He was the first among the sovereigns of his family who was English by birth, character, and language. This prince, pure in private life, of religious habits, making no distinction between the interests of the crown and the nation, united those faults of the head and virtues of the heart which characterized the best and most influential Tories. The Tories were in power, but always threatened by the systematic, often popular, and always plausible opposition of the Whigs. For six years the statesman who was justly called the "great commoner," and to whom England confessed that she owed the happy results of the Seven Years' War, William Pitt, had outlived himself under the title of Earl of Chatham. Lord North was prime minister, kept in office by the favor of the king, although the responsibility was too great for his mind and character, which were not above conscientious and partially educated mediocrity.† George III. overvalued the services of Lord North, because that minister entirely agreed with him about American claims and the policy to be followed in the government of that country. The opinion of the first lord of the treasury decided that of the council, and in the two Houses of Parliament a considerable majority supported the crown. George III. thought it very important, for the sake of conscience and honor, to preserve for

* George III., born in 1738, was the son of George Frederic, Prince of Wales, who died before his father, George II. The reign of George III. was the longest in the annals of Great Britain. Beginning in 1760, it continued, nominally it is true, till 1820. But the reign of George IV. dates, in fact, from 1809, when he was made regent. The most marked reverses, and the most brilliant triumphs, of England belong to what is called the time of George III.

† Lord North was born the same year with Washington, 1732. Upon his majority he entered the house of commons, and at twenty-six was made a member of the cabinet. As first lord of the treasury, he succeeded the Duke of Graton in 1770.

his country the integrity of his transatlantic empire, and for his crown the totality of its prerogatives on both sides of the ocean. Consequently, and remote as he was by temperament from any form of violence, he did not hesitate to put his personal authority into the balance to secure the rejection of the American proposals. This was the opinion of the ministry and the decision of parliament. Among the orators of the Whig party, the colonies had eloquent advocates; but the vote in both houses was against them, and however opinions might differ among the ruling classes, on questions of internal policy, American affairs were left to the preferences of the king and the judgment of his ministers. To the English people, this was a question of national honor involving their claim, until then undisputed, to the supremacy of the seas. It was also a commercial question, to be settled with great care, and for the exclusive advantage of the mother-country.

The Americans, on their side, were determined not to yield their right, and nothing remained but a resort to arms. Every day imbibed the dispute; every point of contact on the wide reach of land and sea produced bitter quarrels and fights between the "islanders" and the "continentals." The first battle (and through its effects the decisive one) was in Massachusetts, between a detachment of the garrison of Boston and a few companies of provincial country militia. This fight at Lexington,* which would have been the merest skirmish in a European war, put American minds in a ferment, and set American hearts on fire. The colonists were resolved to die, if need were, for a cause which they believed just and sacred. As to-day the thrill of the electric wire carries in an instant to the limits of the vast country the knowledge of an act and the expression of a will, so the example of the Massachusetts country militia determined the thirteen colonies to maintain by arms the claims of the provinces, and no longer to retain their hitherto peaceful attitude. Before the end of May, 1775, insurrection was universal; each of the thirteen provinces had, through its representative assembly, declared its resolution to oppose the unjust claims of the crown, and for this purpose to form the militia into a continental army for a short term of service. The officers were to be commissioned by the magistrates of the different provinces. A second Congress met at Philadelphia, and appointed† Colonel George Washington, of Virginia, commander-in-chief. This choice was one of those which Providence dictates to assemblies, when it is about to make them its agents in designs which shall revolutionize the world.

Boston was the only city in the original provinces which the English army still held; the other garrisons, separated by immense distances, could hardly control the recent acquisitions of the British Crown on the American continent. The royal governors were everywhere deposed, and forced to take refuge on board the ships of war. An enthusiastic and superficial race would have thought the war ended: the Americans knew that it was hardly yet begun. There was no common government, no common policy, among the provinces: an

* April 19, 1775.

† June 15, 1775.

immediate end to be gained, an accident, as it were, had caused the convocation of an extraordinary Congress; that was all as yet. Sovereignty had not been formerly withdrawn from the crown: this chief point was still in doubt. Common action could then accomplish the work of the common will, only by the brain and force of a commander intrusted with the defence of national right. But the American continent possessed no officer of much experience in military affairs, or who had shown superior talent in any serious war. Then, too, this general, to be chosen by foreknowledge of the future, rather than consideration of the past, must have a heart free alike from the towering ambition of a Cromwell and the crafty egotism of a Monk, must desire to be the devoted servant of his country, the disinterested defender of her laws; in one word, to be what the Orientals beautifully call "the zealous advocate of justice."

With talents that were not brilliant, but were always equal to a laborious and complicated duty, Washington, by his firmness, his absolute self-possession, his perseverance, his unwavering trust in the protection of heaven, and his strict honesty in the management of public money, soon acquired an influence over the insurgent population equal to that which in his first campaign he exercised over the militia, whose regiments in too rapid succession came under his command. We may, without exaggeration, say that, from 1775 to the establishment of the Constitution in 1789, public affairs in America* depended upon one man; so that, upon several occasions, the *people* meant the army, and the army meant its general. This man was Washington. More brilliant qualities, a more hasty temper, a heart conscious of the temptations of personal fame, would have destroyed the harmony of this unique character: history gives no other perfect example of such a character, and the century which has passed since he lived has nowhere produced his peer. Washington, born in 1732, was in middle age, in full strength of mind and body, in perfect health, and fully conscious of his intellectual power, when the unanimous vote of the delegates from the thirteen provinces made him commander-in-chief of the American army.

A large royal garrison held Boston still in subjection. It was rightly considered the key to New England, and was undoubtedly — in intelligence, wealth, and population — the most important town that English colonization had up to that time planted in America. To deliver this natural capital of their country was the first, and, for a time, the only object of the levy of troops in the provinces. But Washington could only lay siege to the city. Nevertheless, an enthusiasm which he could not oppose, although he believed its immediate success impossible, led the American soldiers to make an assault on the city of the Pilgrims. The redoubt on Bunker Hill became, on the 17th of June, 1775, the scene of a battle which in American annals is described with the enthusiasm and tenderness that the remembrance of Morgarten excites in the Swiss cantons. On both sides, the courage

* Romana stetit res.

was equal. Every soldier who fought in that narrow space believed the right was on his side; the names of Prescott and Howe, reconciled in a common glory, will live, like those of the heroic soldiers whose dust rests in brotherhood beneath the monumental stone on the plains of Abraham.*

The year 1775 was the precursor of great mental activity in Europe. Watchful of the quarrel between England and her colonies, the Old World believed that she saw new destinies for the human race revealed in the principles declared by the Americans, and in the first acts which followed this declaration. Souls, especially in France and Germany, glowed with the ardor of passion and the simplicity of inexperience. They made ready for the coming of the golden age, and that generation was often more unreasonable than when it hoped to find perfection in the future, rather than to imagine it in the past.

Louis XVI. had just been anointed king. Inheriting power beyond the strength of his mind or character, burdened with a terrible succession of faults committed by his predecessors, and whose gravity he did not conceal, this young prince, irreproachable in manners, loyal in intention, sincere in his love for his people, understood, at least partially, the need of important reforms in all branches of the public service. But his authority, absolute in theory, was in fact, strictly limited by custom and even by institutions. The king had neither the energy necessary to overthrow obstacles, nor the fatalistic temper that would accept them and let things alone. On one side customs were sustained that time had loaded with abuses, but that still appeared as respectable traditions; this category begins with the *olim* of parliament, and ends with the details of court etiquette. On the other side, the doctrines of the philosophic school had acquired over the mind and even over the conscience of the nation the authority of real dogmas, while they still floated in the vagueness of Utopia; irritated, but not repressed, by the ill-combined resistance of the established authorities, these doctrines took the aggressive form of revolutionary prophecies. From this condition of mind, and this struggle sure to continue, it resulted that the monarch had the whole responsibility of events, but only an indefinite share in the possession or exercise of power.

Philosophic culture, aspiring with proud confidence to govern affairs by intellect, presented at this time two distinct phases. On one side, the publicists and economists; on the other, theorists boldly criticising political and social systems. In the first group learning, calm meditation, conscientious experiments, wise love of humanity and knowledge of the best means to serve it, were united in those hard-working writers formed by the instructions of Montesquieu, Quesney, and Turgot. Pre-eminent in this honorable company are the keen intellect, the affectionate and strong heart, of Malesherbes. This school gave fraternal greeting to the works of the great contemporary jurists of Italy. Beccaria was respected equally on both sides of the Alps; and Filangieri disseminated in Naples the teaching of the "Esprit des Lois."

* Montcalm and Wolfe under the walls of Quebec in 1759. The defeat of the former was that of Leonidas, and the latter died in the hour of victory.

The other group of writers and thinkers who agitated France followed very different ways. Viewing the present with pity and the past with horror, misled by the examples of *classical* antiquity, from which in college they had gathered false ideas, wholly inapplicable to modern society; burning, moreover, with an audacious desire to renew religion, legislation, and social order, according to types existing only in their imaginations, these theorists, who arrogantly took the name of philosophers, were at once the most dangerous dreamers and the most powerful tempters who had appeared in Europe since the great eras of the revival of letters and the Reformation. Multitudes of all classes eagerly read their declamations, which were sometimes eloquent, but generally puffed up with sonorous platitudes and high-sounding sophisms. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the oracle of this school, was surpassed by his disciples, who were not, like him, saved from gross mistakes by a genuine sentiment for the beauties of nature, and an occasional experience of kind feelings.

Between these two companies who had no concert of action, but gained equal success in their different spheres, shone a constellation of learned mathematicians, astronomers, physicists, naturalists, and physicians, who carried the exact sciences forward rapidly and steadily. Respectful towards the established policy of government, these men, among whom Buffon worthily sustained the honor of the country of Descartes, excited by the novelty of their demonstrations the distrust and protest of the clergy: this misunderstanding was unfortunate, and of benefit only to the materialists, who now began boldly to defy the restraints of the law, having already violently broken away from the authority of the schools.

No serious thinker will reproach us with overstating the influence on the political destiny of our nation of this intellectual excitement at the time of the American war; and it would be equally impossible to deny the power, almost without counterpoise, that the dominant opinions of France (whether really or only apparently so) had at the same time over the rest of the European continent. In consequence of the last war of the preceding reign, the kingdom of Louis XIV., although enlarged in territory,* had politically fallen from the eminent place she had held since the ministry of Richelieu. Her armies were less formidable, the poverty and disorder of her finances were known, the talents of her negotiators were undervalued. But her language had by universal consent become the speech of diplomacy and of international *instruments*, as fashion had made it the language of polite society from the Tagus to the Neva. France ruled by her genius even the people who had overcome her; all minds turned to her with submission rather than jealousy; to be approved in Paris was the highest aim of all political and literary ambition; the prestige which Athens, even after the loss of her power, so long maintained over Greek, Asiatic, and Roman antiquity, belonged to the France of Voltaire and Buffon.

* By the annexation in 1766 of the Duchies of Lorraine and Bar, and in 1769 of the Island of Corsica.

The king shared in this tumult of thought, only by his generous desire to put an end to every form of oppression and injustice; he was inclined to confer civil rights on dissenters, and would have removed all trace of serfdom; he thought favorably of free trade at first between the provinces of his kingdom, afterwards among the nations of the whole world; he had a noble but not aggressive pride in the national dignity. At the beginning of his reign, he called to his counsel science and virtue, personified in Turgot and Malesherbes: but, in his eagerness to repair the last and most unpopular of the violent acts of his predecessor, he placed in his own path a fatal obstacle to reforms; he recalled the parliament which Louis XV. had dissolved, and restored its power of making good the claims which it sanctified by the name of "rights"; so that henceforward, instead of being an honored mediator between the sovereign and the people, it only checked the benevolent action of the former, and drove to madness the impatience of the latter, already duped by the exaggerations and fantasies of the fashionable philosophy.

Instead of recalling to the ministry the Duc de Choiseul, whose obvious faults were counterbalanced by rare gifts, Louis XVI., conscientiously following the recommendation of the dauphin his father,* turned to Maurepas, whom a long absence, passed in indolence and frivolity, had deprived of the advantages given him by age, and the experience in affairs which he formerly had under the regency.

But in giving to Necker, whom public opinion marked out as the most skilful and honest of financiers, the task of restoring the credit of the kingdom, then on the verge of ruin, Louis XVI., by a praiseworthy effort, conquered his personal feelings, and even the prejudices which education had deeply rooted in his mind.

All Europe was then at peace. Catharine the Great had stopped her victorious † troops on the road to Byzantium. The Ottoman empire began again to enjoy for another century the protection which a political theory, passed into a dogma, granted it on the part of the western powers. The first partition of Poland had been accomplished ‡ without bloodshed; and that nation seemed ready to profit by the ter-

* The prominent part taken by the Duc de Choiseul in the expulsion of the Jesuits from the kingdom, and in the succeeding steps leading to the suppression of the order by Clement XIV., had deeply offended the heir to the French crown. Angry words between the dauphin and M. de Choiseul made it impossible for the minister to serve as a counsellor for the dauphin, who would become his master, if, in the order of nature, the son outlived his father. The Duc de Berry, whom the premature death of his two elder brothers had made heir-presumptive and second dauphin, was only two years old when the death of the only son of Louis XV., in the flower of his age, put France in mourning, and was looked upon as the beginning of those calamities vaguely foreseen in the future. The men charged with the education of the new dauphin did not neglect to impress upon him the aversion which his father felt for Choiseul, and to make him resolve to keep that minister in disgrace, although the cause of his downfall, brought about by Mme. du Barry, was an honor to him.

† Treaty of Kainardji, signed in 1774.

‡ Agreement concluded in 1772 between the dividing powers, and signed by the Polish government in 1773.

rible lesson, and to introduce indispensable reforms in its social organization. The events which followed in America found the Old World in condition to give them its exclusive and earnest attention, soon growing into passion, as at that time every great and new thing did.

From the first representations made by American assemblies, and the first engagements between English troops and the sons of liberty in New England, the almost universal feeling in Europe was admiration and sympathy, not for the English, who were defending the supremacy of Europe and the universal system of colonial government, but for the Americans, who were driving back one and preparing fatal blows for the other.

We can understand why Frederic and Catharine, governing with the brilliancy and power of genius the two nations most recently admitted to the "European Alliance," were unhesitatingly favorable to a revolution which in no way injured them, but might revive their commerce and re-establish equality of flags on the seas frequented by their merchant ships. But France, Spain, and Holland, maritime powers, and overvaluing their transatlantic possessions, needed only calm reflection to see that, in favoring the American colonies, they shook to its foundation and menaced with ruin their own immense colonial system.

This system was in fact incomparably more severe, more pledged to monopolies, and to the absolute subjection of the provinces, than any which the British government, even in its harshest and proudest moods, had dreamed of imposing upon the American colonies.

But Europe was still under the influence of the treaty of Versailles, that triumph for England. The treaty was only eleven years old, and nothing had occurred to weaken its important results. England assumed the right of regulating, according to her own customs and for her own interest, the laws of navigation on the high seas. It was almost universally believed, although it was certainly an error, that the possession of the old thirteen provinces in North America was the chief element of the commercial prosperity and political greatness of the *Queen of the Ocean*. People were far from foreseeing that conditions of commercial equality between the mother-country and the countries which she had settled beyond the Atlantic would yield more real advantages to England than her former sovereignty, and that she need not buy those advantages by heavy military expenses, and the painful labor of holding restless and angry vassals in subjection.

All this explains why jealousy and vindictiveness prevailed in the cabinets first of Versailles, then of Madrid, and at last at the Hague; and why they outweighed the counsels of sound statesmanship. In the united provinces, the envy and fanatical hostility of the people urged on the government; but, in France, one of the striking inconsistencies of the time was, that admiration for English institutions, curiosity about English thought, a passion for English customs, were the fashion with the upper classes, at the very time they eagerly took part against England. Louis XVI. and the most intelligent of his ministers watched with deserved distrust the effects of this Anglo-mania not only on the fashions, but also on religious and political opinions. At the same time,

national enmity, which had never been extinguished, and which the disaster of the Seven Years' War inflamed, acted with equal force on the nobility, the army, the navy, and on the whole nation, fond of war, proud of a superiority incontestable in its own eyes, with natural gifts, and an ambition to make its voice heard by its own and by foreign governments in the discussion of the great affairs of the world.

The king of France was far from sympathizing with the ardor and determination of his people. Hatred was foreign to the nature of Louis XVI. His ambition was to re-establish order in the finances, and to improve the legislation of his country; peaceful by temperament, he was not less so by delicacy of conscience. Duty was always before his eyes; the study of French history had taught him to deplore alike the extravagance of his two predecessors, and the useless and unjust wars which had filled the principal part of their long reigns. But, inheriting the rank which Louis XIV. had held in the world, and which Louis XV. partially forfeited, Louis XVI. neglected nothing to uphold the claims of his crown by powerful forces on land and on sea.

His army, in which the foreign element might be thought too large, was hardly equalled in Europe; and there was none that could be called superior. The navy had made good its losses, and boasted of seamen who had never been surpassed: is it not enough to mention the Bailly de Suffren, the Comte de Grasse, and the Admiral d'Estaing? The king was the more easily persuaded to use these magnificent instruments. Nevertheless, he decided only after long hesitation, after bitter conflict with his conscience and his sagacity: in fine, this resolution was, like the other decisive acts of his life; he obeyed, instead of commanding; he yielded to the excitement of the popular will.

Every thing, then, conspired to fix the attention of the Old World upon America; to turn upon the questions raised in America the thoughts and passions of an age of immense intellectual activity. The commissioners sent by Congress with diplomatic powers to the different governments of Europe, and received merely as official agents, sought to make friends among the ruling classes, by the propagation of their doctrines and the contagion of their ideas. Maria Theresa, indeed, refused to receive any of them, and Frederic adroitly avoided either receiving or rejecting them. But the envoys were listened to at the Hague, at Madrid, and still more at Paris, where Franklin, the only thoroughly consistent man among them before Adams came to Europe, soon acquired influence to which the prudent Vergennes was obliged to make concessions; but the persuasive eloquence of the advocate of the rebels had no hold on the inflexible principles and clear foresight of the firm and cool Turgot.

Meanwhile the last appeal of the American Congress to the king and parliament of Great Britain having obtained no proposition for peace which the colonies were willing to accept, George III. and his ministers took energetic measures to increase their army in America. But the British people, although in sympathy with their sovereign, furnished a very small number of voluntary recruits, and England had

never dreamed of conscription for service out of the country.* Recourse to foreign States was necessary for the purpose of hiring troops. It was first in Russia, then in Prussia, that George III. exhausted all the resources of his ingenious, rather than scrupulous, diplomacy, and used all his personal influence to persuade the courts of Europe that the cause of Great Britain in America was the cause of all monarchs. All overtures to the great courts failed, but the smaller States yielded to the temptation of English subsidies. Troops enough, and for the most part well disciplined, were raised in Hesse, and in some portions of lower Saxony and Franconia. At this news, there was an outbreak of public indignation not only in France, but in the Netherlands and many parts of Germany. One can see by this how two centuries had changed the feelings and convictions of Europe, where the profession of arms was still the most honorable of all professions, if it was not the most popular. Until the end of the sixteenth century, and even during the Thirty Years' War, it was entirely lawful for the ruler of a country to put the flower of his people into military service, under conditions fixed by himself, and for any cause that he thought would be of advantage to himself; but in 1775 the general cry was that the blood of the people should be shed only in defence of their own independence, or at least in the service of their own interests. In England, the opposition orators enlarged upon this theme with the warmth of conviction, sincere in most of them, and well feigned by the rest. Nevertheless, the German troops fought bravely in America; but the employment of them destroyed the last trace of that traditional affection, which, in spite of political differences, would have continued to exist for a long time between the mother-country and her colonies.

Determined henceforth to spare nothing, the colonies proposed an alliance with Canada and Nova Scotia, in order to leave to the English army no line of operation on the continent, and to oppose a compact body to any military force employed to compel English America to accept any other terms than those which Congress made its *ultimatum*. But, on this point only, the skill of the English government had foiled in advance the American plans. The "Canadian Bill," passed by Parliament in 1774, had granted to this country (which had become a mixed colony, French in the East, English in the West) a charter of provincial liberties which surpassed the hopes of the inhabitants, and satisfied their highest claims. The military government, imposed in 1760 after the reduction of Montreal, was abolished; the Catholics were to have full civil rights, and at the same time they acquired political rights, of which they had been totally deprived under French rule. Hence they became loyal subjects of Great Britain, without affection, to be sure, but nevertheless useful allies, provided they were not sent out of their country.

Washington acted then rashly, although generously, when, at the request of Congress, more ignorant even than he was of the real state

* It was different with the militia.

of affairs, he decided * to send to Canada a considerable detachment of the continental army, of imperfect discipline and ill provided. The brilliant gallantry of Richard Montgomery could not supply those resources necessary to hold Montreal, still less to reduce Quebec. But, for the second time, the most heroic blood of both hemispheres was shed under the walls of the proud capital of New France; after the death of Montgomery, whose fate called out expressions of tender sympathy in both camps, Morgan and the other generals led steadily and successfully the retreat of the American army, in mid-winter, to those Thermopylaes of New England, † to which new feats of arms would give new fame.

It was impossible for so complete a revolution to be on the eve of consummation in the thirteen provinces, without a division of parties in the Presbyterian colonies of the North, and among the planters of the south, heirs of the *cavaliers* of the time of the Stuarts. In reality, at the beginning of the troubles, a party of *loyalists* was formed, who were attached to their country, but wished to preserve allegiance to their sovereign. Convinced that the propositions of the British minister ought to be accepted as the basis of a reasonable agreement, these Americans refused to enter the ranks of the militia raised to fight against the crown. The first severe measures against these few but resolute adherents to the old order of things were decreed by Congress at the beginning of the year 1776. Washington constantly endeavored to soften in practice the treatment which popular passion, so naturally blind and brutal, often made odious, but which reasons of State deemed necessary.

At the South, the loyalists, uniting with the small bodies of marines at the disposal of the royal governors, delayed for a short time, and at the cost of much suffering, the adhesion of these colonies to the policy of Congress, accepted with much less opposition by the North. To-day the hatred is extinct, and justice has her dues. Americans who are the avowed opponents of the principles for which the loyalists struggled and suffered recognize the fact that, with the exception of a few adventurers whose memory is for ever disgraced, this party towards which the American Union was inexorable until after the final republican victory and the conclusion of peace with the mother-country, deserved the esteem which is excited by generous sentiments, and the respectful pity due to great misfortunes borne with dignity.

In March, 1776, General Howe, ‡ yielding, after a courageous resistance, to the persistency of an adversary who revived the victorious patience of the ancient Fabius, decided to evacuate Boston, and to make New York the seat of war, reduced as he was to a single army

* September, 1775.

† Military positions near Lakes George and Champlain, and at the headwaters of the Hudson. The fate of Canada, defended by Montcalm, was decided in these regions in the campaigns of 1758 and 1759.

‡ Lord Howe, his elder brother, was at the same time commander of the English naval forces on the American coast.

corps, with which to conquer the whole immense continent. This resolution prolonged the war for six campaigns: it was, however, considered in Europe a confession of inferiority, and the American cause gained that increase of favor which the multitude instinctively gives to superior power, as well as to the promises of fortune.

Meanwhile it became clear to all reflective men that war must be the arbiter between the parties in this contest. The alternative for the colonies was absolute submission or definite separation. They would accept nothing from the favor or the free-will of the king of Great Britain: they desired a formal contract based on the acknowledgment of their right. Any return to the misunderstandings, contradictions, and collisions that had made so much misery under their former rule seemed intolerable to them; they believed that laying down their arms at this time would be the virtual renunciation of the only sure guarantee for their liberties; finally, they had tasted the reality of independence, and they desired to make it the foundation of their future existence. Towards the middle of the year 1776, minds and consciences were ready for the mighty but single step into freedom.

The province of Virginia was the first which dared to make the declaration of which modern history, up to that time, offered only a single precedent; that of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, when, by the manifesto of Utrecht, in 1579, these countries formally repudiated the sovereignty of King Philip II., a sovereignty which had been respected in theory and in words to the middle of the civil war. Washington, from his headquarters, gave approbation and encouragement to this resolution, which Richard Henry Lee presented to Congress, then sitting in Philadelphia. The vote of this assembly, where thirteen *States* (the term *provinces* was dropped with the allegiance to England) were represented by forty-nine deputies, was declared, after the most mature and calm deliberation, on July 2d, 1776. The words of the resolution, which made a new era in universal history, should be transcribed in their strong and grave simplicity.

“*Resolved*, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, dissolved.”

The declaration, which was to make this known to the thirteen colonies, (and we may add, without exaggeration, to all Europe watching for this event); this declaration, of which the future consequences were incalculable, was prepared by Thomas Jefferson, the first jurist and publicist among the statesmen of Virginia. No military hand had touched this work; Washington and the army desired but did not dictate it; their part, to which they held with modest and assiduous zeal, was to make it respected when it became the law of the country, and to demand the recognition of it as the end of the war with the powerful adversary who spared no pains to bring it to naught.

A statement of the grievances of the colonies against the English government forms the second part of the declaration. It was in its time of great interest to belligerent nations; a knowledge of it is still essen-

tial to the understanding of this portion of American history. But the proclamation of principles on which the American Congress based the *Revolution*, which it called openly by this name, and from which it dated the new existence of its country, was in reality addressed to all nations which shared in modern civilization. Not only the States hostile to it, but entire Europe witnessing this radical innovation, considered the declaration as the expression of a new era.* It reads: "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

Two points in this are to be especially noted and remembered: first, the government of George III. was not renounced by Congress because it was monarchical; limited monarchy with a national representation had up to this time been the choice of American public men; but this authority was renounced, because, in the decided opinion of the American people, it had exceeded its prerogative, and violated the rights guaranteed to the colonies by solemn compacts:† second, although, in the Declaration, the Creator is named with reverence as the author of all good, and the source of all law, yet the use of Bible language was carefully avoided in the revision of the act; there is nothing to indicate to an ordinary reader that it represents the religious convictions and the will of a nation definitely and exclusively Christian. A century earlier, in such a juncture, the style adopted by the organs of the nation would have been very different; but, in the Presbyterian colonies particularly, we cannot doubt that the principles and conclusions would have been identical with those of 1776.

The 4th of July, the day of the official announcement of the Declaration, has ever since been kept in the United States as the birthday and national holiday of the American Republic.

The declaration of the independence of the United States produced an immense sensation in Europe. It was an absolutely new event in modern history; an event which deranged all recognized alliances, introduced a novel and still problematical ‡ factor into general politics; and, what was still more serious, it responded to newly awakened passions, and opened the way of entrance, into active and practical politics, for ideas formidable by their magnitude, their demands, and their vague generalizations.

It was, indeed, a challenge which the New World sent to the Old, that

* "Magnus ab integro saeculorum nascitur ordo." (Virgilii Bucolica, Ec. IV. v. 1.)

† Bancroft, History of the American Revolution, vol. ii. chap. 70, *ad finem*.

‡ In its results.

until now had been looked upon as the owner of America, and the undoubted leader of the whole civilized world. This calm and authoritative voice spoke the language of the most energetic race in the world, and one which best knew political liberty by experience, theory, and practice.

Throughout all Europe, from Ireland to Poland and Greece, minds which the philosophic school, reviving and re-enforcing the lessons of the classical school, had taught to appreciate the vices of contemporary society and to hope every thing from the future, were in ferment over this event. This, in the confusion of brilliant dreams, gave a glimpse of the endless progress whose partial realization must cost nations passionate struggles and incalculable suffering.

In France, with which we are especially concerned, the almost universal sympathy of the upper classes, filled with military ardor, forced the hand of a king, just, but doubting his own power, and a divided and unpopular ministry. This enthusiasm for novelty discredited the political traditions which the philosophical school had made so popular. So, months before Louis XVI. had decided in council to assist the American rebels, generous volunteers and shrewd speculators undertook to furnish soldiers and arms to the Americans, whose name, Independents, was considered an honorable designation. Government watched this alliance, without daring to oppose it, for some time before it openly encouraged it; and France was equally interested in its two elements represented by Lafayette and Beaumarchais. Fashion, that tyrant of what is called society, had taken Americans under her protection. She cared little for the colleagues of Franklin, who had nevertheless special talents, but she flattered the chief commissioner of Congress, until the extravagant admiration lavished on him would have made him ridiculous, if his solid virtues and intelligent patriotism had not lifted him above the silly deification decreed him by the modern spirit and its curious levity.

Franklin's task was, nevertheless, one of the most difficult that it is possible to imagine. The United States possessed, in fact, a vast territory inhabited by brave and industrious people; a great future was before them; but, at present, they had for their struggle with the richest nation on earth, no munitions of war, no military equipments, no money, and, what was still worse, no permanent organization. The confederation, hardly more than proposed, could not put at the disposal of Congress the resources which different parts of the country possessed: Congress itself was only an assembly of deputies sent by thirteen distinct States, each jealous for its own sovereignty; so, even while harmony reigned in their sentiments, it rarely existed among their opinions. Congress could order levies of men, could assign its contingent in money to each State; but it had no power to execute its orders. Every State arrogated to itself the right of interpreting them in its own way, and received them as simple recommendations.

In such a situation, it seemed evident that, without the assistance of one or more of the European powers, the American war would end in the total defeat of the Independents. It was apparent that the British

forces could not actually pacify and usefully occupy so vast an extent of territory, stretching far into the continent; victory must be fruitless in a country where each inhabitant was at heart hostile to foreign rule; but it seemed probable that English arms would disorganize local administrations, prevent another session of Congress, and, in a word, destroy the United States, and plunge the whole country into confusion, ruinous for transatlantic England; but from which Great Britain would gain only a barren triumph, and a burden of expenses for uncounted years.

The bitter feelings awakened by the war blinded the British parliament to these truths, while in France, where they still reasoned coolly, the friends of America concealed nothing. Consequently, their solicitations to the minister, and to the king himself, became continually more urgent and even threatening. Because the monarch of the oldest and most absolute government in the world held in his hand all administrative power, they wished to force upon him the part of chief actor in a revolution which, if successful, would necessarily place before France the alternative of promptly carrying out social reforms in her own organization, or of braving the incalculable chances of a struggle against an inevitable revolution.

This unnatural state of suspense and change in the counsels of the monarch lasted two full years, during which small quantities of arms and ammunition, and inconsiderable sums of money, advanced secretly by the treasury, were sent to the United States, adding little to the resources of the army, but keeping up the hopes of statesmen and the confidence of the people in the ultimate success of their undertaking through an offensive alliance with France.

Washington saw more clearly than any one else the needs and the dangers of the army and the nation, and so, more than any one else, was frank and urgent in his communications to Congress and his correspondence with American agents abroad. He could see safety for the United States only in a formal alliance with France; in words, where modesty was united with perfect dignity, he placed his country under the protection of Louis XVI.; he did not deceive himself as to the small assistance to be gained at this time from Holland, or even from Spain.

Meanwhile the American war grew to huge proportions; the two armies, moderate in number, equal in courage and perseverance, measured their strength on battle-fields from the banks of the St. Lawrence to the shores of Georgia. Congress was eager to acquire Canada, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland; Great Britain would yield nothing of the immense empire which she thought the treaty of 1763 had consolidated, and which stretched from the Northern Ocean to the Mexican Gulf, from the Mississippi to the Atlantic, from Labrador to the Bahama Channel. The summer of 1776 was spent by Congress, after the signing of the Declaration of Independence, in regulating the work of the Confederation. In September, the arrival in America of the young Marquis de Lafayette was hailed as the forerunner of the French alliance, and the promise of a formal treaty with a nation

whose universal prestige had suffered little from the series of reverses she had borne towards the end of the last war, which she persistently carried on in many lands, and on all the seas of the globe.*

Lafayette, at nineteen, without worldly experience, or practice in war, was, nevertheless, the fascinating ideal of the French nobility, the model of modern chivalry, so different in feeling and faith from that of former days. A few gentlemen, leaving, like him, the restless frivolity of court, or the idleness of garrisons on a peaceful frontier, accompanied to America the young volunteer, whom there awaited, in his own country, at a distance of only thirteen years, a future which he could not foresee of bewildering changes, political greatness, and cruel sorrows.

The example which he set, of departing without the consent of the king and braving the displeasure of the minister, was soon followed by soldiers and adventurers very unequal in character and capacity. The first were Poles, whom the recent disasters of their country had driven to foreign lands, and of whom Pulaski and Kosciuszko were the most important; the next were German officers, grown gray in harness, and seeking only to continue their trade on new fields of battle or strategy. Washington received them all warmly, and employed them with all the discretion he was permitted to use. But Lafayette became his favorite pupil. The young volunteer soon surpassed the hopes of his general, by the quickness of his understanding, and the cool courage with which he performed the difficult tasks often confided to him.

In the mean time, it became necessary to thoroughly revise the separate constitutions of the States belonging to the *Union*, proposed, rather than accomplished, in order that the different original charters should be made to agree essentially with the fundamental principles of the Declaration of Independence. This labor occupied the intervals which the war allowed to public councils from the summer of 1776 to the close of 1782. In this work, which was happily finished long before the Federal Constitution was complete, the newly emancipated States of America gave to Europe a wholesome example, which unfortunately was not sufficiently heeded, nor clearly understood, and not followed on any of the occasions which afterwards presented themselves. It was a matter of course that the office of royal governor, and that of the hereditary magistrates, who continued the succession of the *proprietors*, the founders, by the original cession of several colonies,† should be

* The surname and family name of the Marquis de Lafayette, Gilbert Motier, was inherited from an ancestor, Marshal of France, and one of the later heroes in the Hundred Years' War against England. This lieutenant of Charles VII. died in 1464. The name of Lafayette was brilliant in literature also; the age of Louis XIV. produced no more charming and solid talent than that of the faithful friend of La Rochefoucauld and Mme. de Sévigné. The alliance of the young Marquis de Lafayette with the family of Noailles increased his influence at court, and established him firmly in the world.

† They were Maryland; the two Jerseys, united in one province; Pennsylvania; and, in some particulars, New York. Already, by successive modifications

abolished. But these offices, with the privileges derived from feudalism, were the only ones abolished. Nowhere else did the American people risk entering the path of innovation. They preserved all of the colonial organization that was sound, and adapted to the future growth of public affairs. Each State retained legislative power, by means of elective assemblies; usually there were two of these, checking and supporting each other. A council, also elective, and charged with executive powers, had the right of nomination to public offices. The president of this body, first officer of the State, preserved the ancient and honored title of governor. In some States, Roman Catholics were disfranchised; but this restriction soon gave way before the progress of ideas of universal toleration. A certain amount of property was, with fixed conditions of age and moral character, a requisite qualification for the exercise of the elective franchise. Nothing was introduced into legislation which could favor license of writing or lessen respect for property. The terrible question of slavery forced itself upon the consideration of all the legislatures, but was seriously treated only in New England and Pennsylvania. These five States decided it in accordance with the principles of humanity and the suggestions of prudence. The Union so lately formed of so diverse elements, and so imperfectly cemented, had not the resolution, and probably not the power, to extend to the Southern States the plan for the gradual emancipation of slaves which was gloriously adopted by the North. We would gladly turn our eyes away from this great injustice, this great danger. How different the Constitution of the Great Republic of the West would have been, on this Centennial Jubilee of the Union, if the fathers of independence had been willing and able to render to their country this other service, equal or superior, in moral and political value, to all those which America owes to them in the eighteenth century!

It is impossible not to delay the reader for a moment on this subject, which was one of the chief causes of the most gigantic civil war of modern times, and which raised storms of tumultuous sympathy throughout the Christian world.

At this time, slavery and the slave trade were equally condemned by the philosophic school; but its abolition did not seem to be imperatively demanded by Christianity, and economists considered the continuance, even the extension, of this custom as absolutely essential to the life of the colonies. Among the firmest champions of American independence in France and in the New World were slaveholders who never dreamed of freeing their slaves. Washington regretted that this institution existed in Virginia, but he never proposed to abolish it. In the Southern States, they feared for the future of the plantations, if the negroes were not kept by force. But the Middle and Northern States had little to lose by the gradual emancipation of negroes. These

of the original charters, the rights of the proprietors had been restricted to the use of municipal and provincial liberties, and was merely a source of revenue. In both the Carolinas and in Georgia, these rights had entirely disappeared, reverting to the crown.

States had the great merit of being the first in their age to pass from the theory to the practice of the evangelical teachings, equally wise and humane, which condemned forced labor and arbitrary payment. But they could act freely without making great sacrifices. From 1774 to 1800, the financial condition of the Union was such that all men of affairs would have shrunk from the redemption, even at a very low rate, of the four hundred thousand human beings then held in bondage south of the Susquehanna. The sum of eighty or a hundred millions of dollars exceeded the credit as well as the resources of the whole Confederation. In a situation similar to that of English America, Peter the Great, fifty years before, had thought it impossible to abolish serfdom in Russia. His noble successor, Alexander II., has resolutely and prudently brought about this change, in the most successful manner. He was sustained by the spirit of his age, and by the extent of the resources which public prosperity put at his disposal. Providence did not grant Washington this precious boon. America, when she entered upon her new career, was doubtful and timid in a matter which, above all, she should have taken hold of and regulated. If she had acted according to her convictions, she would have won immortal glory, and would have been spared — for the issue was delayed only two generations — calamities from which memory shrinks, and which sadden prophecy.

As a whole, the political action of the United States showed Europe how far nations can carry reform, without overthrowing social order and flinging themselves into the darkness of revolution, of which even the benefits are stained by violence. England alone profited by this calm and beautiful lesson. She could overcome her natural vexation, and receive from a recent enemy suggestions, wisely used by statesmen worthy the esteem and gratitude of posterity. But in France, and on the continent generally, attention was given to that which Americans destroyed, and contempt to that which they by improving had preserved and consolidated. The consequences of this false and partial view were not long delayed; but we cannot with justice lay the responsibility of them on America, who offered the safeguard with the danger.

The first assistance given to the United States, with the connivance but without the official approbation of the French Government, placed that government in an equivocal and undignified position towards England.

Besides, these small contributions served only to keep hope alive in the Americans, but did not help them to fight with any real chance of success. Philadelphia was occupied by Sir William Howe on the 26th of September, 1777. Congress, instead of dispersing, boldly adjourned to Baltimore. The temporary occupation of the city, then considered the political capital of the country, produced more excitement in Europe than in America, where, as Mr. Bancroft says, with equal wisdom and boldness, "it was a war of ideas more than of material power."* It was the same in the second and last war of

* History of the American Revolution, vol. iii., p. 405.

Great Britain with the United States. At that time, Washington and Philadelphia surrendered to an army better disciplined than their own, and to a navy which had then no rival on the seas. Yet the conditions of peace* were favorable to America, who did not give up an inch of her territory, or yield one of her just claims.

Before the close of this year, a decisive action took place, which more than counterbalanced the disaster at Philadelphia. This event of the war occurred in the North, on one of those battle-fields where, since the discovery by Champlain to the latest laurels gathered by Montcalm, French blood has flowed in so many encounters. The army corps under General Burgoyne was moving from Montreal to New York; if the corresponding movement had been carried out by the other half of the English army, holding the mouths of the Hudson and the Delaware, the rebel territory would have been literally cut in two. This result must have discouraged even the energetic characters and manly souls of New England; but Burgoyne, surrounded in the forests of Saratoga, by militia under General Gates, was compelled on Oct. 13, 1777, to sign a capitulation, by the terms of which he was to embark his troops at Boston for England, and promise not to serve again against America during the war. This expedition, which deprived the English of ten thousand soldiers, ought to have finished the war.

In fact, the best judges of military matters, the masters of the art of war in the Old World, agreed unanimously that, after the capture of Burgoyne, the English could by no possibility regain a foothold in the northern provinces, by whose resolution and resources the war was chiefly sustained. Frederic, laying aside his habitual reserve, expressed this conviction in free and plain terms. This monarch did not like the English government, although he professed great esteem for the British people. He had a sad remembrance of the work of the Tory ministry during the Seven Years' War, when, notwithstanding the entire unity of interests between Great Britain and Prussia, the latter had been assisted tardily, imperfectly, and with marked unwillingness, by the great and rich power which ran the same risks with Frederic, but in its policy followed a course too selfish to be sagacious. The American war gave the king of Prussia occasion to show his resentment, not by action, but by severe expressions of opinion, by putting the weight of his judgment, acknowledged to be the most influential in Europe, into the scale against England.

In Great Britain, national honor seemed more than ever at hazard; and the attitude of France becoming at once more manifestly hostile, the fierce and implacable opposition between the nations blazed out with unquenchable fury. It was on this occasion that the shrewd and determined minister of Louis XVI., Vergennes, obtained from his master authority to conclude with the United States a treaty of commerce and amity. From this it resulted, not only that France acknowledged the independence of the colonies, but that the king agreed

* Peace of Ghent, signed in 1814.

to give them his support in establishing their sovereignty on a firm foundation. This treaty was signed at Versailles, Feb. 6, 1778, and at the same time ships of war were put in commission to convoy merchant squadrons to American ports. Such proceedings clearly implied war with England; but with a lingering hesitation, caused by his conscience, Louis XVI. wished to throw upon his rival the responsibility of pronouncing the fatal word. By his order, in March, the French ambassador in London officially notified his Britannic Majesty's Secretary of State of the existence of a treaty of commerce and friendship, which his most Christian majesty had concluded with the United States of America, "that are in full possession of their independence, declared on the 4th of July, 1776."

To this decisive communication, George III. made the reply expected by both nations. He recalled his ambassador from Paris, and presented to parliament, where his ministers were sure of a sufficient majority, the measures necessary for the conduct on a suitable scale of a war which should extend to all parts of the world.

On the 20th of March, 1778, Franklin and his colleagues, who had been officially recognized as commissioners from Congress, had a formal audience with Louis XVI. The coldness and harshness which on this occasion the king took no pains to conceal showed how little his sagacious mind and sensitive conscience were affected by the popular enthusiasm which had spread through his whole court. But the die was cast. M. Gérard de Rayneval, one of the warmest friends of Vergennes, was sent as minister plenipotentiary to Congress; he embarked on a squadron, which sailed from Toulon the 10th of April, with a large quantity of military stores for the Americans.

A single incident, which shows the spirit of the age, idolizing the pleasures of intellect, and intoxicated by the view of an enchanting future, was then exciting all Paris much more than the beginning of a war in which torrents of blood would flow. Voltaire, returning to the capital after an absence of twenty years, presented to the French Academy, in solemn session,* and by a condescension almost unprecedented in its annals, Benjamin Franklin and John Adams, calling them the "forerunners in Europe of the star of liberty which had risen in America."

During the stormy debates which the proposition of the king raised in both houses of parliament, Chatham, then near his end, made his appearance once more in the house of lords, and, on the 7th of April, uttered, in a dying voice, his final protest against the use of inhuman proceedings in the American war, including in his condemnation the very "principle of that unnatural war between two sister nations." The time was long past when the eloquence of the "great commoner" moved the souls of the people, and decided the votes of the senate. But, in tragic dignity, the closing scene of that long life † was worthy of the

* The 27th April, 1778.

† William Pitt, first of the name, was born in 1708. Entering the cabinet in

drama of which fifteen years before the peace of Versailles³ had seemed to give England the glorious end, — a drama about to recommence under strangely different auspices. The house of lords did not attend Chatham's funeral. He had, in fact, never belonged, by sentiment or sympathy, to the hereditary branch of the British legislature. The first Pitt gave to England, to the house of commons, in his second son, who never wished to be other than William Pitt,* a genius less proud than his own, but a character better fitted to combat with the difficulties of all kinds that embarrassed his career, even when he demanded immense sacrifices of the nation without being able to promise immediate success, but still a patriotism more enlightened, a genius which seldom won admiration, but always inspired confidence.

The events which followed the treaty between France and America are related in the work of which we offer a translation to our readers. We beg them to bear in mind that the historian of the United States proposed to write the history of the war of independence, in reference only to the events which concern the destiny of America, and her situation after 1776, relative to the powers of the Old World. It was not the task of Mr. Bancroft, and it is not ours to recount in detail the phases of that Five Years' War, during which the Indian seas, the coasts of Africa, and the Mediterranean, were theatres of numerous brilliant engagements, the honor of which was shared equally by the two chief actors, "the flag of the lilies, and that of the leopards." We borrow here the figurative language of our fathers, and we desire at the same time to render full justice to the generous sentiment which softened the horrors of war on both sides, and threw even upon the miseries which it inflicted on humanity a gleam of courtesy and chivalric honor. Devoted with the simplicity of filial love to the cause of their king, who stood to them for their country, the soldiers of both nations experienced during that long war nothing of those brutal enmities which produced atrocities, and which unhappily were revived when the war reopened in 1793. Fighting under different banners, devoted to the profession honored at that time above all others in the western world, these adversaries never spared each other on the battle-field; but their anger died with their battery fires, and they unhesitatingly trusted each other's honor when the fortune of war made them prisoners. The great ideas which had caused the war remained the only objects which, with few exceptions, both officers and soldiers had in view until the peace. The elevation of these motives gave nobleness to their actions, and stamped their language with the seal of dignity.

1746, he became the head of it in 1756, and resigned this great office in 1761. Five years later, he was banished from the theatre of his glory by accepting a peerage with the title of Earl of Chatham. Returning to public affairs in 1766, his ruined health, embittered temper, and overweening pride made him of no use, and he finally retired in 1768.

* William Pitt, second son of the first Lord Chatham, was born in 1759. In 1781, he entered the house of commons; in 1782, the cabinet, and in 1784 became head of the ministry. He died in 1806, worn out by hard work, and broken-hearted at the defeat of the coalition in Germany.

We must, however, remember that this spirit of generous courtesy showed itself much more in favor of the superior officers than towards subalterns, and that common soldiers gained very little from it. Delicacy of conduct lessened with the rank or grade of the actor. The condition of prisoners crowded into unhealthy enclosures, and often into floating prisons, is painted in the memoirs of the time with colors that to-day excite shame and remorse. Besides this general disposition of things, the American war was carried on with a tenacity which led on both sides to uncounted severities and lamentable excesses. In every civil war, the conflict of principles assumes a painful character of fanatical excitement; the practice of reprisals, indispensable perhaps, but always grievous, hardens hearts, and calls the executioner to do the work of the soldier. The employment of Indians as auxiliaries to the British troops was a sin against strategy, and a worse one against humanity. In adopting this cruel measure, the British generals had for excuse the usual practice of belligerents, French as well as English, in all former wars; but there was something peculiarly revolting in letting loose such enemies upon adversaries of the same blood, speaking the same language, and who only the day before were fellow-citizens. The dark side of the war was noticed and excessively blamed throughout Europe, and the remembrance of the atrocities committed a century ago on the Indian frontier, helps even in our time to keep alive in the American people bitter prejudices and unkind feelings towards Great Britain and its government.

Early in 1783, the peace of Versailles put an end to the warlike period of Louis XVI.'s reign, and placed the European powers in a new position, to be changed again in eight or nine years by the outbreak of the French Revolution. But the alarmingly rapid succession of events only removed the Old World farther and farther from the condition existing before the American war, a condition to which she could never return.

France came out unharmed in honor or territory: but she had acquired nothing new; and her public debt, very large for that time, absolutely demanded measures which the ancient *régime* could not carry out unless by reforms in finance and in other branches of administration so radical as to entirely change its nature.

Holland had suffered irreparable losses; and the contest between the aristocratic* republican party, and the stadtholder, sustained by the confidence of the people, raged so violently that arms alone could decide it. William V. requested the intervention, not of England, but of Prussia, to maintain him in his position of royalty, which still in public acts preserved the name of republic. The successors of this prince, when party hatred had once subsided, gathered from this very situation advantages which, by confession of the whole nation, the country enjoys to-day.

* It was in fact the patriciates of the cities represented in the provincial and general assemblies of the states who formed a permanent and systematic opposition to the office of stadtholder.

Prussia saw the monarch who had created her power close his career by a hard-earned peace, in which his last efforts had secured an advantage more solid than brilliant for the maintenance of the constitution of the empire. The Germanic Roman Empire was virtually divided into two confederations, with unsettled boundaries. The antagonism between the courts of Vienna and Berlin was as marked as ever, and was the most striking feature of German politics. The result of it was a sad series of internal quarrels and external defeats, although war was not formally declared between the two sovereignties till 1866, — the eightieth year after Frederic's death.

The ambition of Joseph II., no longer held in check by the tried wisdom of the great Maria Theresa (who died in November, 1780), turned towards Italy and the Turkish Empire. It threatened Venice, and the Danubian principalities Bosnia and Servia. This ambition, and the restless activity of a monarch eager for glory, ardent for the right, but unscrupulous and unskilful in gaining his ends, had decided Joseph II. to make a close alliance with Russia, although he could reasonably expect from so unequal an alliance only benefits entirely disproportionate to the sacrifices that he would demand of his state, whose revenues were small and finances in confusion.

Catherine II. without resorting to arms, had attained the lofty rank that she sought, when she proposed the league of neutral nations for the protection of their flags in time of war. Admitted among the Christian powers less than a century before, Russia obtained for the first time the consideration and credit which belong to the protectors of a cause just in itself and in harmony with the true principles of civilization. The Empress continued on the defensive towards Sweden, the old rival of Russia, and was in readiness to renew the systematic operations which should force the Ottoman power, driven to the south of the Danube and the Caucasus, to restore to European civilization the beautiful regions on the north of the Black Sea, and on the Sea of Azof.

The three years of war during which Madrid was the ally of France gave to Spain advantages quite out of proportion to the importance of the contingent she furnished in troops and ships. She regained Minorca, although dismantled,* and the Floridas, which the council of the Indies vainly flattered themselves would give them back their former naval supremacy in the Gulf of Mexico. Minorca, unnaturally separated from Spain, ought to have been restored. The Floridas were of no use to her. The fortress of Gibraltar had resisted all assaults, and the Spanish flag could not float over it, notwithstanding the enormous sacrifices made for that end. But this was not the essential point. By recognizing the political existence of a great, independent nation in the new world, Spain condemned herself to lose, sooner or later, the magnificent transatlantic domain, the sovereignty of which had been transmitted by the princes of Austria to the Bourbons.

* The fortress of Port Mahon was razed before making restoration to the Spaniards.

Warned by the patriotic sagacity of Count d'Aranda, Charles III. had, it is true, resolved to introduce judicious reforms in the administration of his possessions, which were so vast that, far from regularly occupying them, Spain could not even explore them thoroughly. But the king did not dare, and perhaps would have dared in vain, to touch seriously the scaffolding of the institutions which his predecessors had given to the West Indies, treated as great farms of Spain, rather than as dependencies of a crown careful for the interest of all its subjects. The spirit of the system established by Philip II. was not changed by the peace of 1783. But between New Mexico and the mouths of the Orinoco, between the Isthmus of Panama and the southern pampas of the valley of the La Plata, on both slopes of the great chain of the Cordilleras were the creoles, many millions of people proud of their race, and dissatisfied with privileges given only to Europeans by birth. These creoles of four great viceroyalties, and the prosperous country of Chili, listened readily to the voice of independent America, whose frontier, for hundreds of leagues, was that of Florida and Louisiana. It is true that the insurrection in thought did not become one in deed, until the paternal government had yielded to the reverses of the war of 1793, and the pacification of 1795, so disastrous for Spain. But what signify twenty-five years in the life of nations? After 1808, transatlantic Spain was lost to the mother-country as surely as American England was lost to Great Britain after the declaration of July 2, 1776.

The part which Spain took in the war of 1778 brought to light the faults in the social and political organization of that great, generous nation which, for a century and a half, had been the rival of France, and, in the western world, had threatened the balance of power, not less than religious and political liberty. The history of the Spanish monarchy presents the strange spectacle of germs of decay and of greatness side by side; of equal growth in power and in political faults; of outward success impoverishing internal resources; of decline visible to clear eyes at the very moment when the country was nearest to universal dominion. The monarchy, founded by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella — “the Catholic kings” — was, late in the fifteenth century, injured in population and industry by the impolitic and inhuman expulsion of a half million Jews, whose trade and manufactures enriched the country. The fruits of the conquest of Grenada were, in great measure, lost by the cruel treatment of the Moors, — recent subjects, — whose persecution, forced rebellion, and final expulsion ruined agriculture and destroyed industry in the eastern half of the kingdom. The civil liberties of Castile died by the pitiless hand of Charles V. This king might flatter himself that his own genius had done more for his nation than her former assemblies of proud spirits, active and devoted to the public welfare. But, under Philip II., and incomparably more under the nominal reign of his miserable successor, the most stupid despotism, unyielding in great things, fickle in small ones, laid its hand of lead on all branches of social life and production in the territories. A system of economy, opposed to sound reason, and clearly condemned by

experience, ended by exhausting the provinces, and hastening the decline of population, which emigration to America, on an immense scale, had already grievously diminished. Aragon had been deprived of her most important privileges by Philip II.; what remained were destroyed with inhuman severity by Philip V., at the end of the Spanish war of succession. Under an arbitrary and suspicious government, every thing was laid low in the countries which, by the division of the Spanish monarchy in 1713, passed to the Bourbons. This dynasty, undoubtedly, brought to the throne better sentiments and wiser intentions than the house of Austria, which ended with the unfortunate Charles II. But neither Philip V., early affected with disgust for royal duties; nor Ferdinand VI., devoured by black melancholy; nor even Charles III., although he was far superior to his brother and his father, could apply sufficiently powerful remedies to the chronic diseases which laid Spain waste. With lamentable folly, of which Spain does not offer the only example, the Castilians were in love with their faults, proud of the peculiar character which their vices gave them, and of the ruinous practices which were everywhere the inevitable consequence. The king, superior in many respects to his people, would sometimes assist his intelligent ministers, but he either would not or could not walk firmly in the way of necessary reforms, and he did nothing which his successor could not neglect or even destroy. Europe was astonished at the insignificant part which Spain played, as a mere auxiliary of France, in a war which flattered her pride, and ought to have satisfied her revenge, — a great war against England, who had no ally. But, in fact, Charles III. had done all that he could with his exhausted resources and the poverty of means at his disposal.

The separation of the Spanish colonies was soon followed by that of Brazil, so that Portugal, who had taken no part in the war of independence, nor seriously wavered in the friendship which common interests had formed between her and England, lost none the less the most important part of her colonial possessions, the largest and only lasting proof of Portuguese power beyond the ocean.

Finally England came out of the war, which had lasted nine years in America, with diminished territory, forced to recognize the French navy as a formidable rival, and burdened with a debt unequalled in the past or present. Great Britain was obliged to establish on a new basis commercial relations with nations that had hitherto submitted to all regulations which her parliament had seen fit to make. Yet among the British people, the change produced by the introduction of the United States into the great Christian republic heretofore limited to Europe, novel and important as it was, produced small disturbance and interfered little with future advancement. The pupil had rejected the authority of the teacher; but in their essential nature the two nations were alike. In general, English institutions were retained in the thirteen colonies; and the fathers of the American confederation had founded their new nation on the principles of English common law, according to the precedents of English history, by the inspiration of English thought, on the precepts of the law-givers and oracles of the English schools of

politics and law. The intellectual inheritance of Bacon and Locke, of Milton and Newton, of Cranmer and Knox, still more in a certain degree of William III. and Chatham, was a possession common to Great Britain and America.

In a few years the English nation and the government saw clearly that their remaining possessions in North America would, if managed wisely and left to the free growth of the colonizing spirit of the Saxon race, fully compensate for the loss of the old thirteen colonies. These prospective advantages have now been fully realized. Commerce with the United States, regulated by agreements freely discussed by both parties, brings to the British treasury infinitely larger sums than the old monopoly produced before the separation. Consequently, peace, once made, was on a sure foundation and favorable to the real interests of both nations. Washington was its sincere apostle and constant supporter. When the French Revolution had hurled into England that challenge of Hannibal, which was the signal for a bitter war of almost twenty-two years, Washington, then President of the United States, while preserving a real interest for France, and professing lasting gratitude for the assistance of Louis XVI., insisted so strongly on the duty and advantage of neutrality, that it was impossible for party suggestion or threat to make the American Union swerve from that policy which she had marked out for herself. She remained attached to it long after new men had succeeded Washington in the presidency, and in the direction of foreign affairs.

But the creation of an independent nation in America by the assistance, and, as the world believed, principally by the assistance, of France produced consequences in the French monarchy of much greater importance than the rest of Europe felt.

The political dogma of the sovereignty of the people had been proclaimed in America with calm solemnity, the fruit of the deep conviction of an intelligent and religious people. The grandson of Louis XIV., the descendant of Saint Louis, had boldly favored this doctrine, for which the philosophic school in France had, by its publications, for half a century been preparing the way.

Monarchy, accepted up to this time in English America, as it had been in all other European colonies, had given place to a republic; and social order had not suffered, and the regular growth of material prosperity had not received a sensible check.

Carried away by the characteristic vivacity of their nature; sharing the brilliant but dangerous gift which Providence has bestowed upon the French race, which seizes at a glance on general principles, and without reflection risks the universal application of them, — the ruling classes in French society were aglow with enthusiasm for the American system. They at once asked themselves if France should remain a mere looker-on at this new force.

Cool reason and a careful examination of the social and political conditions on both sides of the Atlantic would have left no doubt as to the answer of this question. The just and fit counsel of America to France would have been to make immediate and important reforms on which

wise men were already nearly in agreement: far from encouraging France in revolution, the example of America, properly understood, would have banished even the thought of it.

The traditions, manners, and hereditary beliefs of the different classes in France, the great fact of distinction of orders and of classes in each order, finally the nature of the French character (and the experience of the eighty following years confirms this opinion), in a word, the whole social fabric, already too much undermined to resist an assault, but still too firm to give way easily, — all evidently prevented the substitution at that time of a republic for a monarchy in France, without vast ruin and wretched excesses.

From the close of the reign of Louis XIV., the best minds and the great hearts of the eighteenth century had recognized the need of systematic reforms in all branches of the public service. But the plans adopted by the heir-presumptive to the crown, arranged by his loyal counsellors* and developed by the imagination rather than the reflection of an amiable and somewhat visionary character, rested on the preservation of the fundamental institutions. The power of the king, according to the system upon which he acted, should in no way be lessened, but regulated in its application to the government of the people. The distinction of orders should be not only sustained, but strengthened by assigning to each its exact privileges and functions. Far from desiring to abolish advantages of birth, they sought to make them more honorable by preventing the dissipation of patrimonies, and attaching duties to every superior station. The plan of Vauban, to establish a "royal tithe," touched only a single privilege of the exemptions from taxation, henceforth condemned by all publicists, and very weakly defended even by the interested parties themselves.

At a time, then recent, when economists and contemplative philosophers, whom the public encouraged to take up the question of reforms, made plans which they flattered themselves would be put in practice, they assumed the hearty support of unlimited power in the monarch. They exhorted him to use his sovereign prerogative to abolish abuses, to rectify irregularities, to harmonize the different provincial laws, to restrain, and, if need were, suppress the privileges of orders and of corporations. It was on the supreme magistrate that these preachers of reform relied to improve the condition of his subjects. Far from wishing to take from the sovereign any of the powers which he then possessed, the innovators accredited by popular opinion desired to smooth the way before the steps of the head of the nation, and to make him a dictator with absolute legislative authority.

Parliaments, on their part, while constantly active in opposing the acts of the royal ministers, professed the most religious respect for the king's authority, "supreme and held from God alone." They would consent to reforms, even when they imperiously demanded great

* They were the Duc de Bourgogne, the Ducs de Beauvilliers and de Chevreuse, and Fénelon, — not when he wrote *Télémaque*, but when he gave serious advice to the new dauphin.

ones, only on condition that all acquired rights should be respected ; nothing was farther from their ideas than the plan of levelling all conditions, and transferring from the monarch to the multitude the direction of affairs, the thorny work of legislation.

The American school roughly turned aside the course of received opinions, introduced into the glowing and fickle imaginations of a witty rather than reflective generation foreign ideas, recommended by their novelty ; and thus to nullify the preparations made by a benevolent king, earnest counsellors, and sincere friends of the people, since the accession of Louis XVI., for a methodical reform in the government. History was abandoned for romance ; calm reflection, for fantastic enthusiasm. In avoiding beaten paths they hurried towards abysses ; but if such were (as we believe) the extreme consequences of the revolution in America, it is only just to repeat that the example of the Americans ought to have produced wholly different effects.

England, in consenting to an apparently disadvantageous peace, had shown the difficult and meritorious virtue of resignation, and afterwards gave proof of a wisdom very rare in aristocratic governments, by making use, in her internal affairs, of the lessons learned from American emancipation. She made these lessons bear fruit, by applying them with justice and careful adaptation to established interests in proportion to their real importance.

William Pitt, that minister great in the things given him to perform, greater still in the plans that he made but could not carry out on account of the violence of the times, — Pitt set himself resolutely at work as soon as peace was assured. In 1786, a treaty of navigation and commerce, negotiated with the Comte de Vergennes, another bold and clear-sighted statesman, established between England and France easy and liberal relations. Heretofore such had been considered opposed to the different interests of the two nations ; but it was found that in reality they brought about a harmony of feeling favorable to both nations, equally proud of their civilization and of their power. The theory of free trade, modified to suit the demands of interests which had legal guarantees, was put in practice in a way which ought at once to have made converts of intelligent people. Yet its triumph, after obstinate struggles with selfish advantages, deep-rooted prejudices, blind jealousies, and even the sophisms of science wrested from their true interpretation, did not begin for seventy-four years. Let us never despair of that which is in harmony with the true welfare of nations and with the principles of eternal justice.

The treaty of 1786 with France, and another on a like basis, just signed, with America, did not limit Pitt's views in the sphere of reform. The political emancipation of Irish Protestants, declared in 1782, should be followed, in the clearly stated opinion of the prime minister, at a proper time, by the social emancipation of Irish Catholics ; and the union of the Irish Parliament with that of Great Britain, consummated in 1801, was delayed instead of being hastened by the foolish and disloyal insurrection of 1798.

The minister of the crown could not yet get a vote for the suppres-

sion of the slave-trade, — that iniquity which Liverpool and other seaport cities defended, because they found it a source of great profit. Pitt urged Wilberforce and Clarkson to propose it in the House of Commons, of which they were simple members. In the cabinet it was an open question. A superior duty forced Pitt to leave to his friends the trouble and the honor of gathering these immortal laurels. But he was never discouraged, and never grew cold in the support which he gave, with both voice and personal influence, to enable those good men to complete the long and difficult labor, which was drawing near its close when the son of Chatham “died, the victim of the noblest of sorrows.” The next year (1807), Fox, himself on the verge of the grave, succeeded in making that a law for the British Empire, which was already a law for humanity; and which, thanks to English persistency, soon became a law for the civilized world.*

Afterwards, successive reforms were made in the government of the still large colonial possessions remaining to England after the peace of 1783. We have spoken of the salutary change in the government of Canada. Nova Scotia and Newfoundland were united, greatly to the social and political advantage of both. At Jamaica and the other Antilles, the royal governors were assisted by representative assemblies. The Indian Empire had become, at this time, of immense importance, by its wars and its commerce; and the feeling of outraged humanity, of justice trampled under foot, broke out in England with a strength against which the avarice of private speculation, and the authority of bad precedents, could not long defend the extortionate practices and habitual violence of the early governors of the East India Company. Public indignation fell at first upon the guilty individuals; afterwards upon the institutions which permitted such malversation. On the whole, the impulse given to liberal ideas and human requirements by the American Revolution affected the mother country more powerfully and more widely than it did the colonies themselves, although the latter may justly be proud that they were the origin and occasion of them.

In France, the innovators and theorists made their assault with specious doctrines and reckless declamation, not defining their aim, or, if they touched it, rushing beyond it. The intentions of the monarch were upright, and his mind was truly just, although slow; but he had no strength of will. He lacked that cold and persistent resolution which alone lifts a reformatory prince above the mean opposition in which his court and numerous servants interested in preserving abuses entangle him as in a net, whose meshes one sharp word, one decided gesture, will break. Louis XVI. had not the character *to will*, as Alexander II. has done in our days, when, by peacefully changing the social constitution of the Russian Empire, the successor of Nicholas deserves the eternal gratitude of humanity. Unhappily, during the interval between the peace of Versailles and the opening of the States General (1783 to 1789), there was in France only one man whose will

* The slave-trade was abolished in 1817, by a solemn convention between all the Christian nations of Europe.

was indispensable to the safety of his country. That man was *the king*; the king, supreme legislator, source of all law,* last refuge of established institutions, heir of Henry IV. and of Louis XIV., heir also to his own misfortune and that of the world, of Louis XI. and Louis XV.; burdened by the faults of others, and by the accumulation of historical precedents, with a formidable responsibility that he could not throw off, and had not the strength to bear. When, in popular opinion, the third estate, which falsely called itself *the people*, claimed to be not only something but every thing † in the country, it was found that, on the other side, in actual legislation, in administration, in that which France had in place of a constitution, it was the king who represented every thing. To save the nation in this terrible dilemma, there was needed extraordinary genius, a Henry IV. and a Richelieu combined; but in Louis XVI. Providence had given France only a virtuous sovereign, crushed by the greatness of his part and the difficulties of his position.

We must especially consider here the part taken in preparation for the French Revolution, and in the first acts of that terrible tragedy, by the men who had shared in the American campaigns, and who naturally carried back to the old world the ideas which were triumphant in the new.

At first their number was small. A single army corps had been landed on the American continent to fight under Washington. The French flag was illustrious by victories, and honorable even in reverses, on all the seas of the world; but, above all others, this war had been for the French navy a renewal of the century's struggle with the English. Lafayette, when he dared to forestall the decision of his government to assist America, was accompanied by a very small number of young gentlemen, whose names, with few exceptions, are written in the history we have just read. The only one of the Polish volunteers who returned to his own country and played an important part there was the hero of Lithuania, Thaddeus Kosciuszko. Next to M. de Rochambeau and M. de Lafayette, whose positions during the war were exceptional, was the Marquis de Chastellux, ‡ whose chief honor is to

* *Caput legis*, head of the law.

† This watch-word of war and revolution, raised by Siéyès, contained, in the view of calm reason enlightened by history, the veriest absurdity and the most flagrant wrong. In consequence of imagining itself, in 1789, the *sole* ruler of a nation, where two other orders had historic and legal rights, the Third Estate was reduced, ten years later, to subjection to an absolute monarch. The state of mind at the beginning of the Revolution is clearly shown by the immense sensation this saying produced; the excited or stupefied multitude believed it a sort of decree proclaimed by eternal justice and by common sense.

‡ The Marquis de Chastellux, an avowed but very moderate friend of the philosophic school, was a general officer in the French auxiliary corps of the American army. His *Voyages dans l'Amérique septentrionale*, made and described after the war, added to the literary reputation of M. de Chastellux; their publication was completed in 1782. The author did not witness the Revolution. He died in 1788, the year in which France lost Buffon and vainly sought for a worthy successor to Vergennes, dead some months before.

have made illustrious by his writings the cause that he served with his sword. Many of the officers who were Washington's companions in arms were forced into retirement, by age or wounds, at the outbreak of the French Revolution. They all, however, whether in the ranks of the army or scattered at their own firesides, formed an American school, without official character, without formal organization,* but important on account of its influence upon the public mind. This school was not ignorant of the direction which public opinion took after the installation of the Constituent Assembly, when that body took possession of the sovereign power, almost immediately after the convocation of the States General in 1789.

Until the explosion in France of a revolution which attacked, not like that in America, a foreign rule, but the royal prerogative itself and the vital institutions of the country, the officers returned from the war of Independence had shown themselves, almost without exception, open friends of the reforms which the king, on his side, was determined to carry out in good faith in all branches of public administration. The soldiers who thought and spoke thus, highly esteemed in the army and in the nation, had the calm and happy conviction that they had fulfilled all their duties, and had been faithful to their family traditions and the obligations of their station,

Indeed, the French nobility, especially the military nobility, which served at its own expense and saw the court only on rare occasions, had been, from the middle of the seventeenth century, devoted heart and soul to the crown, but not at all servile to royalty. While sacrificing its vital interests, it preserved the sentiment of hereditary dignity. The way in which its enemies in the other classes of the empire opposed it, and set their hearts upon despoiling it, showed plainly that an involuntary respect accompanied, in popular feeling, the envy and hatred which the misunderstood teachings of the philosophic school had aroused in most of the provinces against the "second of the privileged orders." On the eve of the Revolution, the gentlemen could be reproached for no such feeling. Unquestionably they were generally averse to an entire levelling of the nation, and they desired the continuance of the distinction between the orders; but they entered more ardently than the others into all the projected measures for the relief of misery, the extension of popular education, the amelioration of the criminal laws, the abolition of all abuses which put tyranny in the place of law. On all these matters, they were in free and affectionate interchange of thoughts and wishes with their former brothers-in-arms in America. Patriotism was a passion they all felt sincerely and professed eloquently. An illustrious writer † of established authority in the history of ancient France has observed, that the sentiment of the collective *nationality* of the nations from which the French monarchy has been gradually formed first appeared in the order of the nobility, where it

* The Society of the Cincinnati was only a short-lived association, without stability in Europe.

† Augustin Thierry, *Histoire du Tiers Etat*.

soon became paramount ; and for the obligations imposed by this sweet, strong passion, gentlemen were lavish of their blood and their treasure, even when the king, whom they looked upon as the natural head of their order, was personally unworthy of such sacrifice. This devotion to the king continued in 1789 ; but, after the reign of Louis XV., and especially after the American war, another sentiment claimed a large share in the feelings of the nobility, — that of their own dignity, revived by the remembrance of the time preceding the rule of Louis XIV., and of their duties to other classes, and to humanity in general. Such feelings would have brought forth valuable results, morally and politically, if the fierce irruption of material violence, of impracticable systems, of angry declamation, of every thing that belongs to the madness of unrestrained passion, and thought swept beyond the limits of experience, — if the Revolution, in one word, had not driven back all inclination to kindness and conciliation in such a manner that men became implacable foes, who would on both sides have gained infinitely by remaining allies in the service of the national cause.

After 1789, and especially after the crimes against the dignity and the person of the monarch in 1791 and 1792, when the military nobility was forced to decide on its course of action, under circumstances for which there was no precedent in the memory of man, the survivors of the American war divided into two parties, each officer following his own impulses. Some believed their swords, their fortunes, and their blood belonged to the supreme head of the army, to the first gentleman in the kingdom ; they marched into foreign lands to undertake there the defence of the late institutions of their own country.

Others believed that their first duty was to their native soil ; there they would defend, under new colors, the institutions which the body of the people had accepted, and which their makers believed to be models from antiquity, or copies of the American Republic. Let us be just in offering respect, without invidious distinction, to the memory of those brave antagonists. They all thought they obeyed the command of duty ; most of them sacrificed for that all their private interests. They had conscientiously answered in different ways a tremendous question, on which eternal justice had given no verdict, unless we consider as such the judgments pronounced by Fortune. And how various even these have been ! Let us cease, let us cease, from condemnation and recrimination ! The study of this age, so full of tragic incidents, ought, apart from the higher considerations to which we have alluded, to touch our hearts with respectful pity for the actors in those terrible scenes.

In the army which followed the flag of the republican assemblies, Rochambeau * and D'Estaing † fought with sad but unshaken fidelity. Their reward was, for the first, exile ; for the second, the scaffold.

* M. de Rochambeau was the last Marshal of France created by Louis XVI. in 1791. The following year, finding the troops disobedient, and disgusted by the atrocities committed at Paris, he resigned the command of the army of the north. He escaped the scaffold by flight, and died in the obscurity of exile in 1807.

† Admiral d'Estaing received, in 1790, the command of the national guard

Lafayette's fate was exceptional, like his character and the first acts of his public life. When the form of government was changed, a prominent position was ready for him. In 1789, he became the idol of the people, who imagined that they saw in him the genius of free America crossing the ocean to deliver the Old World. Having done more than any other person to introduce a parliamentary constitution in which royalty should keep its place, but not its power, Lafayette tried to oppose one last barrier to the overflow of demagogism; but he had only his sword and the remnant of his popularity. His sword was broken by his own soldiers; his prestige was lost in the city, where the destinies of France were decided. Forced not only to pass almost alone into the camp of his enemies, but also to ask their chiefs for protection for his life, he was deceived in this last trust, and the only asylum he found was a prison. His captivity, as unjust as it was long, kept him from taking any part in the political or military events of the Reign of Terror and the administration of the Directory. The rest of his career does not come within the plan of our work. We only add, that the character of Lafayette was formed, and his principles acquired unchangeable firmness, while he served in America by the side of Washington. When he returned to his own country, he constantly refused to take any part in the acts of a power that departed more and more widely from the forms and spirit of republican institutions. He yielded neither to the advances nor the displeasure of Napoleon. The former prisoner of Olmütz, become the hermit of La Grange, remained a mere spectator of the great events which, between the battle of Marengo and the first capitulation of Paris, threw Europe into confusion many times, and gave to France experience of successes and defeats alike unique in history.

The restoration reopened a political career to him. He gradually regained public favor, and was made, for a day only, in 1830, the arbiter of the fate of the monarchy, which was shaken and tending to a change which would give it no solidity. Lafayette lived long enough to see in America, where he received a welcome both cordial and stately, its power become gigantic and firm by the union of its members. America generously rewarded the services given to her in her early need. Death spared Lafayette to an advanced age, and he never lost faith in the beliefs or even the illusions by which he had lived.*

Many officers who had served under Rochambeau in America were in the army which followed the royal princes to the banks of the Rhine, and which, through the cruel sufferings of nine consecutive campaigns, faithfully defended the colors of ancient France, and the senti-

at Versailles. His services, and the sincerity of his devotion to the cause which he embraced, could not save him from the proscription which levelled all noble heads. He was guillotined in 1794, at the age of 74.

* M. de Lafayette was called to the Council of the Notables by the choice of the king in 1787. We know the part which fell to him in the Constituent Assembly. He lived till 1834, preceding to the tomb by two years the king Charles X., who was born a few months before in 1757.

ment of "unconquerable love" * for its native land. Among them was the Chevalier Durand, who commanded the batteries at the siege of Yorktown, who pressed the hand of Washington after that decisive victory, who remained by the side of Admiral de Grasse, one of the few survivors of the disaster to the fleet of the Antilles, and who, nine years later, had the unique distinction of raising and commanding a regiment of his own name in the French emigrant army.

Returned to their homes after the First Consul had re-established order in France, these exiles, poor and out of employment, were nevertheless treated with respectful consideration by the government of Napoleon. These old officers, so long as they lived, kept a knowledge of and taste for political liberty, which they sincerely believed to be compatible with the royal prerogative in a limited monarchy. Such had, indeed, been the cardinal doctrine in the political *credo* of old France since the establishments of Saint Louis.

At the very time when the French Revolution began in Paris, North America inaugurated the Constitution,† which, until 1861, was both the basis of its federal government and the safeguard of the rights maintained by each State with inflexible determination.

Warmly sympathizing with the movement opening under such charming auspices, and draped with the splendid colors of hope, Young America applauded her former ally, who seemed to be following her example. Washington was President of the Union, and still had almost unlimited influence over the feelings of a grateful nation. The clear-sightedness of this great citizen did not then fail. With affectionate anxiety, he urged his former companions-in-arms and their political friends to be moderate in action, and to preserve for the august head of the "constitutional king" the respect due to his rank, the gratitude due to the sacrifices he had made without hesitation.

One of the most enlightened of American statesmen, Gouverneur Morris, was sent to represent his country at the new government of France, and to recall, when occasion offered, the wise counsels of Washington to the leaders of the parties into whose hands the reality of power had passed in Paris. The journal of Morris and contemporary witnesses show how admirably he understood his mission, and that he neglected no means to stop the Revolution in that unbridled course through blood and all forms of delirium, which dragged France to the inevitable end, — the eclipse of liberty.

When the Convention declared war against Great Britain, the agents sent successively to America by that Assembly under which France had been incessantly tossed between tyranny and anarchy did their utmost to draw the United States into a deadly struggle with the English. But their efforts were useless before Washington's resolution to keep his country at peace. So, while the hero of Independence, the founder

* "Amour indompté;" the beautiful expression of the poet of Cinque Magio.

† Accepted by the different States in succession, the Constitution went into operation March 4, 1789.

of the Union, lived, America remained firm in the neutrality which was both her duty and her interest. The most violent provocations, the spoliation of which her merchant-ships became the victims in punishment for her refusal, the declamations of leading demagogues, jealous of the glory of Washington and eager to gain his heritage, could not change in the least that pacific policy which the second President, John Adams, had the honor of faithfully carrying out.

Thus all thoughtful observers clearly see the difference between the spirit of the American Revolution in 1776 and the French in 1789. The first did only what was necessary to insure to the people of the United States its independent existence and self-government. It undertook no changes in the social order excepting by successive and prudent modifications of the civil code. The privileges which were abolished had no right to exist, and made no resistance; there was no distinction of orders anywhere, and in most of the provinces they had never existed. The continuity of time was not broken; the memories of the past, even those of the war in which the colonies assisted the mother-country from 1755 to 1763 (dates then very recent), were held with affectionate respect and pride, which, in the old families, were not at all opposed to equality before the law. How much better would the fate of France have been, if, instead of eulogizing the institutions of America, she had studied them! How many precious resources the country would have saved! How many foolish attempts she would have avoided! With what safety and comparative ease the really useful and just results of the Revolution would have been obtained, without being bought by iniquity, dishonored by crimes, and always compromised by the spirit of blind innovation, chimerical levelling, political irritation, and incorrigible imprudence, from which France has suffered so much!

By the treaty of Basel, in 1795, France recovered Louisiana; so that, for eight years, the colonial territory of the French Republic bordered on the new and flourishing States which had been formed between the Mississippi and the Alleghany Mountains.* From this recovery, the importance of which she did not appreciate, France gained no more advantage than Spain had done during the thirty years that she owned Louisiana.†

But the First Consul, at war with Great Britain, and determined not to lay down his arms until he had destroyed that adversary against whom his fortune was destined to be shattered, wished, by the sacrifice of a magnificent property (the value of which he probably did not know), to free himself from the care of defending it against the masters of Jamaica, the rulers of the ocean. On the other hand, he thought that, by selling Louisiana to the United States, he should strengthen

* These States—at that time Territories, but afterwards admitted to the Union with the same rights as the older States—are Illinois, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Mississippi.

† It was not till 1765 that Spain decided to take actual possession of New Orleans and its dependencies, although the formal cession by France had been announced two years before.

with that nation the bonds of friendship, loosened by the brutalities of the preceding *régimes*; that he should eventually find in her an ally against England; and that it was better for France to have in America a powerful friend rather than an unimportant colony. Finally, he was fully sensible of the pecuniary advantage of the transaction, for he had fixed the price at eighty million francs. The United States were no longer poor; the finances of France were painfully reviving from the total ruin into which they had been thrown by the madness of the Convention, and by the incapacity, as much as the immorality, of the Directory. The negotiation was conducted openly and rapidly between the American commissioners appointed by Thomas Jefferson, President of the American Republic since 1801, and the delegates of the First Consul. Of these, M. Barbé de Marbois* was the head. A statesman, a skilful financier, a sincere friend of humanity, and loyally devoted to the service of his country, Marbois understood the full importance of this transaction: and he spoke of it in his memoirs with an earnestness and emotion that do honor to his judgment and his heart.

So Louisiana, after sharing again for eight years the destinies of France, to whom she owed her settlement in 1718, became a member of the American Union, to remain there for ever. The territory of which President Jefferson took possession in the name of Congress, without opposition from Great Britain or Spain, had no definite boundary on the north-west. But it formally comprised the region from which, at different times, the States and Territories of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Kansas, Iowa, Minnesota, and the great Indian reserve were made. Its possession opened to American colonization a way to the summit of the Rocky Mountains, and gave it a fair claim (which it afterward put forward) to the whole valley of the Oregon, the principal affluent of the Pacific Ocean.† We may say, without exaggeration, that the peaceful acquisition of Louisiana, by doubling the territory of the American Union, by the annexation of the whole valley of the Father of Waters, raised it, not at once, but in a short time, to rank with the great powers of the world, and assured to it pre-eminence in the western hemisphere. This new and immense obligation to France was appreciated with sincere gratitude by the United States; nevertheless they persevered for nine years in the neutrality favorable to their commerce, and apparently necessary in the weak condition of their navy.

The cession of Louisiana by France to the Anglo-Americans was a disaster to Spain. It exposed the whole Mexican frontier to the ardent and unscrupulous action of a race which increased with great rapidity, and put no bounds to its greed of territorial possession. Florida, after

* François Barbé de Marbois, born in 1745, had, before the Revolution, filled consular and diplomatic positions in America: President of the Council of Ancients in 1797, struck by the *coup d'état* of the 18th of August, escaping almost by miracle from his pestilential prison at Sinnamary, he was appointed by the First Consul Minister of Finance. His honorable life was prolonged till 1837.

† This is the river *Bourbon* of our transactions in the last century.

the cession of New Orleans to the United States, became the limit (at least on the land side) of the great Anglo-Saxon republic, and the Sabine River was only a slight protection for Texas. At the beginning of the present century, it was easy to foresee with certainty the time when these beautiful and fertile provinces would change masters. Florida was occupied in 1817, and two years later the government of Ferdinand VII., exhausted by its vain efforts to reconquer the rebel colonies in Spanish America, ceded the two provinces to the United States. From the Mexican Republic, weak heir of the Spanish power north of the isthmus, the American Union won Texas, at the price of a war which gave to the United States all the northern part of the old vice-royalty of New Spain. Under General Scott the American eagle flew to the lakes of Mexico, and returned only to fasten her talons for ever in the valley of the River del Norte, the northern Cordilleras, and California, richer than any other portion of the New World in minerals and products of the earth.

In the acquisition of New Orleans lay the germ of San Francisco, that rival of New York in the bewildering rapidity of its growth and the almost limitless expansion of its commercial relations.

The French ambassador had at least a partial view of such a future, when, on April 30, 1803, he signed the treaty which transferred to the American Union a region larger than France, Italy, and Germany united. The words of M. Barbé de Marbois on that solemn occasion, to which we have already alluded, were serious and prophetic. It was part of the policy of the United States, still modest in language and full of respect for the older powers, to make little noise about this magnificent acquisition, and to organize slowly the territory of which it had gained possession.

Indeed, it was six months before the President received from Congress authority to take formal possession of the territory ceded by France to the United States. The following year, by a second act of Congress, Louisiana was divided into two districts, under the control of the executive, and with only territorial privileges. At last, on April 8, 1811, the "Territory of Orleans" was admitted to the Union as the seventeenth State, with the double character of sovereignty in its internal affairs and representation in the two houses of Congress. The successive formation of the other States and Territories made from the old province of Louisiana does not belong to our subject.

When the First Consul of the French Republic ceded Louisiana to the United States, George Washington had been dead four years. He was followed to the grave by the sorrow and blessings of a whole nation, intelligent enough to understand the virtues of a citizen whose equal in his own country the ages have not produced. Washington, at the age of sixty-five, and at the close of his second presidential term, positively refused to accept a third; and, by this wise abnegation, he established a constitutional precedent from which the United States has not yet turned aside. Casting over the future of the Union which he had done so much to make, and succeeded so perfectly in strengthening, a glance saddened by the justice of his foresight, but consoled

by an unwavering faith in Divine Providence,—Washington desired to bequeath to his country the last counsels of his devotion and the treasure of his experience. He wrote them in a paper which will be as immortal as the memory of his own greatness: “A Farewell Address to the People of the United States,” dated Sept. 17, 1796. We may affirm, with the certainty of an historical demonstration, that all the prosperity of the American Union is due to the faithful following of the precepts of its founder, and all the calamities which have overtaken this republic have been caused by the forgetfulness or the systematic violation of the doctrines stated so strongly and so modestly by Washington.

Benjamin Franklin died a few months after Washington.* John Adams, the immediate successor of the hero in war and in peace, had honestly tried to carry out his political system. But when the treaty, ranking next in importance to that of Versailles (Sept. 3, 1783), was signed at Paris by the plenipotentiaries of France and of America, the presidential chair had been for two years occupied by Thomas Jefferson. This honor seemed rightfully to belong to the bold and able author of the Declaration of Independence. Yet the spirit in which Washington had filled his high office, governing impartially all discordant interests, and restraining by his personal dignity, as much as by the memory of his acts, all selfish passions,—this calm and moderate spirit no longer controlled American affairs. Jefferson was raised by the opposition to the highest office; and, during the eight years of his presidency, he experienced and bitterly felt the difficulties heaped up in his path by the very means he had used to open it for himself. Jefferson, however, lives in American history, a figure allied to antiquity by the breadth of his talents and the strength of his character. He had the glory of giving his name to the largest acquisition that any nation ever made by diplomacy, and that gave it an unparalleled advantage in history, without the cost of a single drop of blood. The period of the *alliance between France and the United States* was worthily completed by this great event, which renders the memory of Jefferson † for ever dear to America.

At the time when our narrative closes, the United States had reached the most enviable condition for a political community; the vigor of youth, the fulness of hope, moderation in opinions, respect for justice and for acquired rights (at least in all that concerned white men), characterized the external and internal actions of this nation. Rapid and

* This is a mistake. Franklin died April 17, 1790; Washington died Dec. 14, 1799. — [TRANSLATOR.]

† Thomas Jefferson, born April 2, 1743, belonged, like George Washington, to the old cavaliers, the colonizers of Eastern Virginia. His family had the honorable distinction from generation to generation of giving friendship and, as far as possible, protection to the Indians. Chosen President (the third in the order of time) of the United States in 1801, and re-elected for a second term in 1805, he lived till the close of 1826, and took part in the fiftieth anniversary of the Independence, the principles of which he had formulated, and the audacity of which he justified in a well-considered and solemn appeal to the conscience of humanity.⁴

continuous expansion, wisely regulated, added each year myriads of citizens to the nation and vast districts to cultivation; riches increased without sensibly changing the antique frugality of manners. The Union had, without danger, reduced its regular army to a very few regiments; for the militia, ready at the first call, were sufficient for the safety of the frontiers, and the moral arm of the law had unquestioned authority in society. Another blessing had been granted to the American people in the gradual extinction of the hatred, formerly so bitter, between the conquered loyalists and the independents, absolute masters of the country.

The unmerciful laws against the defenders of the ancient rule, which explain without wholly justifying the exasperation caused by the civil war and the calamities endured by the provinces where it raged, were generally eluded or greatly softened in their execution. The confiscated property was restored or bought at a low price by the relatives of the exiles, who returned it to the former owners. Family ties, roughly broken by the opposition of principles, were soon renewed, and former enemies concluded marriages between their children. One of the most striking examples of these happy reconciliations attracted the attention of travellers who lately visited Boston, in the library of William H. Prescott, one of the most honored sanctuaries of American literature. There they saw crossed in fraternal repose the swords worn by the ancestors of the historian, Colonel Prescott of Pepperell and Captain John Linzee of the royal British navy, who both fought in the heroic duel of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775.*⁶

How instructive is the startling contrast presented by France and the United States in 1789! France selected from the examples which America offered her precisely and exclusively those which suited neither her political nor social organization. To all others she obstinately shut her eyes. The great American school had deteriorated so in those few years, that when Lafayette — who truly represented it, and whose popularity, after the Assembly of the Notables, had eclipsed that of the other authors of new ideas — went to perform the most honorable action of his life before the bar of the Legislative Assembly, after the crime of the 20th of June, his just and noble request was rejected with brutal scorn. When, a few days later, he rejoined the outposts of the army which had been placed under his command, in face of the emperor's troops, the only resource left him, in order to save the Revolution from

* This "unique trophy," as it is called by the Reverend Mr. Frothingham, author of a noble poem, has been removed to the rooms of the Mass. Historical Society. It is sad to read, in the correspondence of the ministers of Louis XVI., in 1782, the expressions of scorn and anger towards the American loyalists. In their praiseworthy desire to take the shortest possible road to peace, M. de Vergennes and his colleagues were very impatient when the English ministers, better judges under the circumstances of what honor and humanity demanded, insisted for a long time on the duty of England to obtain complete amnesty for American loyalists. Ten years later, the followers of the King of France had a cruel experience like that of the men whom they so harshly cast out of the treaty.

what would have been one of its most revolting crimes, was to give himself up * to his enemies and the cabinet of Vienna, who, on this occasion, were heedless of the voice of justice and the counsels of generosity. If he had remained in Paris, Lafayette would perhaps have shared the fate, "glorious and beautiful, but cruel above all others," of his companion-in-arms in the war of American Independence, the Baron de Viomesnil, killed on August 10 before the last rampart of constitutional royalty.†

May new generations, at least, profit by such lessons, which history, in her majestic impartiality, offers to all nations! At the present time, few studies would be more instructive, or of more direct application to the conduct of political affairs on both sides of the ocean, than that of the principles by which the American Revolution was begun, continued, and ended; and the examination of the consequences it had for the principal ally of the United States.

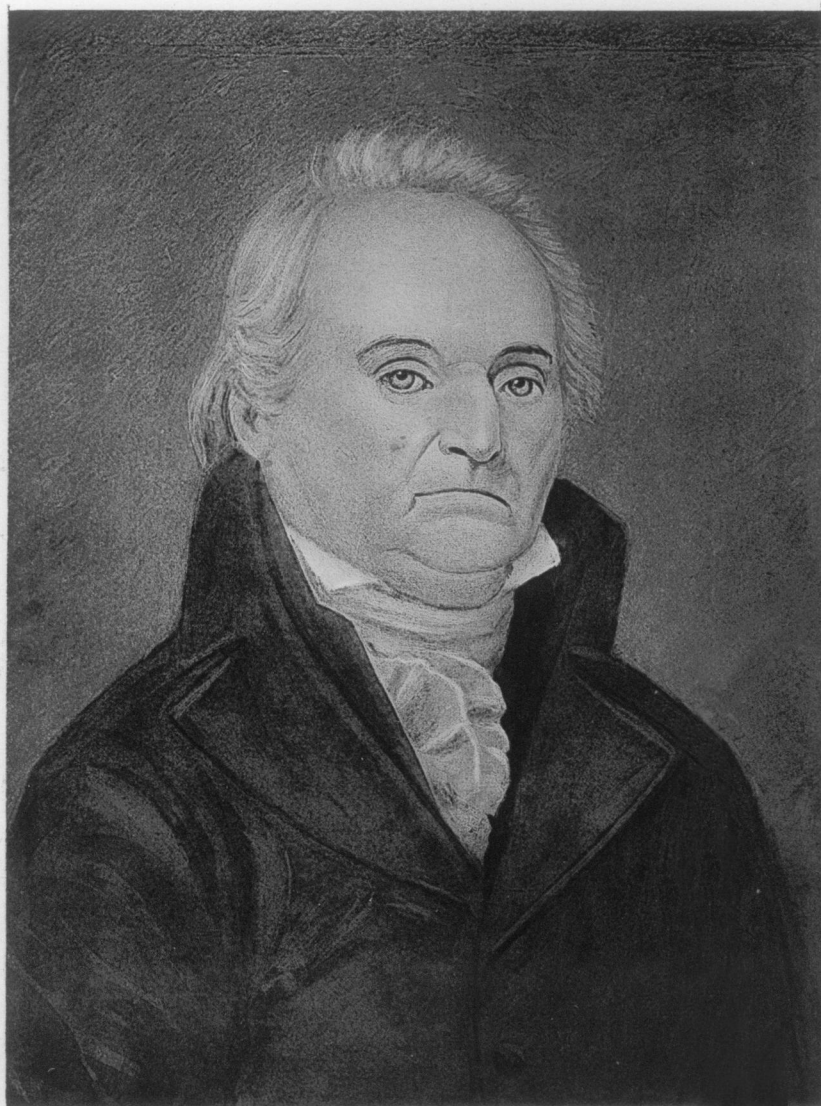
There is still time to learn from what was the heroic age of the New World lessons of moderation in reform, of freedom in opinion, of respectful regard for all that law has held sacred through a long series of years. The gigantic Republic of the West, recently rent by a civil war, whose calamities the old spirit of moderation and of mutual concessions to the common good would perhaps have turned aside, — this Union, re-established by force of arms, stirred by the passions of hatred and revenge; yielding, also, sometimes to the temptations continually born from great wealth and unbalanced strength, — cannot go back too affectionately or with too much docility to the examples given by the actions and by the words of the illustrious men and the obscure heroes, who, in deliberative assemblies and on fields of battle, accomplished the work to which are for ever gloriously attached the immortal names of Adams, Jefferson, Greene, Lafayette, Rochambeau, and, first of all in arms and in administration, GEORGE WASHINGTON.

* Aug. 20, 1792.

† Charles du Houx, Baron de Viomesnil, born in 1728, lieutenant-general of the army.

EDITORS' NOTES.

¹ In these paragraphs relating to the New England Colonies, Count Circourt is not altogether accurate. The Pilgrims, it should be remembered, never belonged to Presbyterian congregations: they were Separatists from the Church of England, and their church polity was strictly "congregational." Not one of the New England colonies was founded by Presbyterians, and in none did the denomination ever become numerous. It is the more important to bear this in mind, because Count Circourt refers several times to the northern colonies as Presbyterian colonies. It is an error also to speak of the charter which the father of Charles I. gave to the Plymouth pilgrims. The Plymouth Colony never had a royal charter, and could never obtain the king's ratification to the patents granted by the Great Council for New England. The real basis on which their civil government rested was the compact signed on board of the Mayflower in Provincetown harbor. The enumeration of the New England colonies is also incorrect. When the New England Confederacy was formed in



HELIOTYPE



The Publishing Committee, to whom the Orderly Book of Colonel William Henshaw was referred, having decided to publish it in the Proceedings, it is here printed. In accordance with the wish of the family of Colonel Henshaw, a Memoir of him has been prepared by our associate, Professor EMORY WASHBURN, as an introduction to the Orderly Book, and it here follows :—

Memoir of Colonel William Henshaw.

The subject of this notice was born in Boston, Sept. 20, 1735. He was the son of Daniel Henshaw, who, with his brother Joshua, was a son of Joshua, an early proprietor of Leicester. Daniel married Elizabeth, daughter of Joseph Bass, of Boston; and, when his son William was thirteen years of age, removed to Leicester, upon land belonging to his father, where he lived till his death in 1781, at the age of eighty years. Another of Daniel's sons, who also lived in Leicester, was the father of the Hon. David Henshaw, at one time Secretary of the Navy. Another of his sons was Joseph, who graduated at Harvard College in 1748. He married the daughter of Joshua second; and, in 1774, removed to Leicester, and took a prominent part, both in a military and civil capacity, in the early and later stages of the Revolution. Joshua, his father-in-law, was obliged by his political opinions to remove from Boston in the same year, and

1643, the colonies which had separate organized governments, were Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Haven, and Rhode Island. The first two were united by the charter of William and Mary, which bears date Oct. 7, 1691. Connecticut and New Haven were brought under a common government by the royal charter of 1662, which finally went into effect in the early part of 1665. Jurisdiction over Maine and New Hampshire and the title to the territory were matters of dispute from an early period. Massachusetts made good her claim to Maine, and exercised jurisdiction from 1651, though with some resistance at first, down to 1820. The four towns of Dover, Exeter, Hampton, and Portsmouth, were the only settlements in New Hampshire in 1679, when it was created a royal province.

² It dates from a much earlier period, and began almost immediately after the Restoration. James II. was not proclaimed until February, 1685. The Royal Commissioners, Nicolls, Carr, Cartwright, and Maverick, were here in the summer of 1664; Randolph's first mission was in 1676; and the Massachusetts Charter was vacated in June, 1684, a few months before the accession of James II.

³ The treaty to which Count Circourt refers in the text, and in another place (p. 46), was signed at Paris in February, 1763, and is known to English and American historians as the "peace of Paris."

⁴ Jefferson died on "the fiftieth anniversary of the Independence," July 4, 1826.

⁵ Captain Linzee was the grandfather of Mrs. Prescott.

for a while resided in Leicester. His son, Joshua third, was many years register of deeds for the county of Suffolk. His father, Joshua second, and Joseph, were associated and active co-workers with the Adamses, Otis, Warren, Quincy, and others, in the measures which originated and carried forward the Revolution. Joshua the second represented Boston in the General Court, and had the honor of being negatived by Governor Bernard when chosen to the Council; having for associates in being so rejected Bowdoin, Otis, Hancock, and Artemas Ward.

William, the subject of this notice, had the advantage of the Boston schools until his removal, and had made considerable progress in the study of Latin, with a view of preparing for college, as his brother had done before him. He thus acquired a taste for literary culture, which he afterwards improved, till, as will be seen, he applied it to practical use in the preparation of important papers and documents of a public character connected with the Revolutionary movements in which he took a part.

In 1759, he received a second lieutenant's commission in Captain Baldwin's company, and Colonel, afterwards General, Ruggles's regiment of Provincial troops, under General Amherst, and served during two campaigns, — being stationed a considerable part of the time at Fort Edward and afterwards at Crown Point. He then returned to Leicester, and in 1762 married Ruth Sargent, daughter of Jonathan Sargent, of that town. From that time till his death, he lived upon and cultivated a farm in the easterly part of the town.

Another leading citizen of Leicester, Joseph Allen, afterwards a representative in Congress while residing in Worcester, had removed from Boston in 1771. He was a nephew of Samuel Adams, and shared his confidence, and was in hearty sympathy with his views. The population of the town at that time did not exceed a thousand, and most of them were farmers of small means; and, considering their remoteness from Boston in the then condition of intercourse, without a post-office, or even a mail, except one carried on horseback about once a fortnight, it might strike one with surprise to learn at how early a stage in the growing spirit of resistance to the encroachments of the Crown, the people of Leicester were in full possession of the merits of the controversy, and entered with a zeal and intelligence hardly second to that of the people of Boston themselves into the discussions to which it gave rise. This is readily to be traced to those family relations, and not a little of it was due to the correspondence

which Colonel Henshaw kept up with his brother Joseph and his cousin Joshua. Among the papers which he left are sundry letters, covering a period from May, 1766, to August, 1774, written by his cousin, in which he keeps him advised of what was doing upon the one side and the other; but in which, from motives of prudence, the name of the writer was feigned, or omitted altogether. The records of the town also show a series of remarkable papers, commencing as early as October, 1765, and continued to May, 1776; consisting of instructions to the representatives of the town in the General Court or Provincial Congress, letters and communications in reply to those received from the inhabitants of Boston, resolutions setting forth the rights of the people and the wrongs they were suffering, and the views of its citizens "on the present melancholy situation of this country." In their style, their broad and statesmanlike views of the condition of the country, the principles for which they were contending, and the bold determination they express of maintaining them, these papers will compare favorably with the best of the like documents which appeared during that time, and have excited the admiration of students in history. Several of the most striking of these were drawn by Colonel Henshaw, and some of the others were prepared by committees of which he was a member.

But an occurrence in which he took a prominent part, in April, 1774, partook more of personal courage and open avowal of resistance to the objectionable measures of the government, than the papers above mentioned. It will be remembered that the government at home, in order to render the judges of the Superior Court independent of the people of the Province, to whom they looked for their salaries, made provision in 1772 for their being, in future, paid out of the royal exchequer. The people regarded this as a direct attack upon the system under which they had lived. The power of the court, as then conducted, was very imposing, and the dignity and respect it maintained raised it above the ordinary criticism with which the other branches of the government were discussed. With an almost unlimited power to impose fines and imprisonment upon such as presumed to disturb the course of the proceedings at its sessions, it is difficult to imagine the gravity of a measure which had for its purpose to assail one of the members, and that the chief, at one of its sessions for the transaction of public business. Chief Justice Oliver alone had accepted his salary at the hands of the Crown, and in that way had made himself the object of general odium. The House of Repre-

sentatives took measures for his removal by a formal bill of impeachment. In this state of public feeling, the term of the court was to be held at Worcester, in April, 1774. It was a matter of grave difficulty how this feeling towards the Chief Justice could properly be manifested, and not seriously obstruct the transaction of the civil and criminal business of the county, — especially as, up to that time, no one seriously thought of compromising his allegiance to the king and royal authority. A panel of fifteen grand jurors attended at the opening of the court; Colonel Henshaw was one of them. Instead of offering themselves, as usual, to be sworn to the performance of their duty as jurors, they handed to the court a written protest, signed by them all, in which they refused to act as jurors if Chief Justice Oliver was to act as one of the judges. In it they declared not only that he was disqualified to act, but they added, that, “by his own confession he stands convicted, in the minds of the people, of a crime more heinous, in all probability, than any that might come before him.” This was certainly a bold measure and bold language for a few yeomen and mechanics, called from their farms and their workshops, to address to the most august court in the Province. It carried, moreover, with it no little peril, in view of the sensitive character of the court to its own dignity, and the power of punishing any contempt committed towards them, by fine and imprisonment.

Fortunately the Chief Justice, for some reason, did not attend the term, as it had been expected he would have done, and the business was not any further interrupted. But the Chief Justice was highly indignant with his brethren that they had suffered the measure to pass unpunished. “Had any of my brethren,” said he, “been charged in so infamous a manner, I would for ever have quitted the bench, rather than have suffered such an indignity to them to have passed unnoticed.”

The protest was drawn by Colonel Henshaw; and among those whose names it bears was Timothy Bigelow, who was afterwards a major in Arnold's expedition to Canada, for whom Mount Bigelow, in Maine, was named; and was subsequently the gallant commander of the famous Fifteenth Regiment in the Massachusetts line of the Continental army. Some of the best-known families in the State claim him as their ancestor.

This was the last term of the court held in Worcester County under royal administration, and was soon followed by a general cessation of all civil authority of the royal government in the Province. On

the 17th of June, 1774, General Gage, by proclamation, dissolved the General Court; and from that time till the 19th July, 1775, — more than a year, — the people of Massachusetts presented a moral spectacle, which is hardly to be surpassed in history, of a self-governed community in the incipient stages of a war, whose only rulers were men voluntarily chosen by them, with no executive prerogative; whose recommendations were laws, and to whose officers, military as well as civil, willing and unquestioning obedience was rendered. These representative bodies of the people were of two kinds: one made up of delegates from towns in the whole Province, who took the name of Provincial Congress, and met for the first time at Salem, Oct. 7, 1774; the others made up of the delegates, or committees of correspondence, of the towns, who came together in the several counties, having a more limited scope of action, and yet adopting measures to carry forward the great work of furnishing, arming, and providing for troops, and maintaining good order in the community. The first of these meetings was held at Worcester, on the 9th August, 1774; and was continued, by adjournment, till May 31, 1775. It consisted of the several “committees of correspondence” of that county. Colonel Henshaw, a delegate from Leicester, was chosen clerk, and took an active part in the proceedings. On the 21st September, the convention advised to the “organizing and officering” seven regiments of troops in that county; and, upon the motion of Colonel Henshaw, recommended that one-third of the men of the respective towns, between sixteen and sixty years of age, be enlisted, “to be ready to act at a minute’s warning,” and that each town in the county choose a sufficient number of men as a committee “to supply and support those troops that shall move on any emergency.” This was the origin of that most efficient organization known as “minute-men,” who evinced their claim to the title by the promptness with which they acted. In the case of the company which was raised in Leicester, a messenger having reached the town on the 19th April, a little after noon, giving the alarm that the British troops had marched for Lexington, the members were collected from their farms, over a territory of six miles square, and were mustered, and began their march for Cambridge, within four hours after the alarm was given. A regiment of these minute-men was organized in Worcester County, of which Mr. Henshaw was the colonel.

Immediately upon hearing the alarm on the 19th, Colonel Henshaw took measures to assemble the officers of his regiment at Worcester;

and by ten o'clock that night they were there, ready with arms, ammunition, and one week's provision, and reached Cambridge the next forenoon. He remained at Cambridge till the 16th June, when he was discharged, and left for home. During his stay at Cambridge he was not inactive. He was a member of the council of war; and, as one of a committee of that body, he, together with Colonel Gridley and Mr. Richard Devens, of this committee, in connection with a delegation from the committee of safety, on the 12th of May, 1775, reconnoitred the high lands in Cambridge and Charlestown, and made a report, signed by Colonel Henshaw, as chairman of a sub-committee of the council of war, and Dr. Church, on the part of the committee of safety, wherein they recommended several points at which breast-works and redoubts should be constructed between Cambridge and Charlestown; "also, a strong redoubt to be raised on Bunker's Hill, with cannon planted there to annoy the enemy coming out of Charlestown, also to annoy those going by water to Medford. When these are finished, we apprehend the country will be safe from all sallies of the enemy in that quarter." This report was made to the committee of safety; but they declined to take action or advise upon the matter, as the question should rest wholly with the council of war. It has been generally understood that it was in pursuance of this recommendation that Colonel Prescott was detailed to erect works on Bunker's Hill on the 16th June; though, in the end, he concluded to occupy Breed's instead of Bunker's Hill.

On the 23d June, the Provincial Congress, who, as already stated, appointed and commissioned officers of the Provincial army around Boston, requested General Ward, the commander-in-chief, to nominate an adjutant-general of the forces. This he did; and, on the 27th of that month, Colonel Henshaw was commissioned to that office. Upon the arrival of General Washington, with General Gates, who had been commissioned by the Continental Congress as adjutant-general of the American Army, Colonel Henshaw was thereby superseded. This was on the 3d July, 1775; and Colonel Henshaw was about to return home, when he was induced to remain in the service as assistant to General Gates. The account he gives in memoranda left by him, and made a short time before his death, is as follows: "I rode three or four days around the camp, showing him [Gates] the regiments and the colonels, intending to return home. He requested me to stay through the campaign, as he could not do without an assistant, and I should have the same pay and rations as a colonel. General

Gates told me to write to the Continental Congress for my wages, and he would write them that he had employed me and promised me the same pay as a colonel. I never wrote them, and have never received any pay for my services." *

At the close of the campaign, Colonel Henshaw returned to his farm. But upon the personal solicitation of General Washington, after a month or two, he was induced to accept office in the Continental service, under the following circumstances, as stated by him: "Previous to the campaign of 1776, there were three regiments commanded by lieutenant-colonels, and General Washington offered me the command of either of them. I went and conversed with the officers, and found them averse to it; and informed General Washington that, if I accepted his offer, it would be injurious to the service, and declined it. He then told me he hoped I would not leave the service, but take a lieutenant-colonel's commission, which I did under Colonel Little; and in April marched to New York, in General Greene's brigade. Soon after, General Washington came and ordered said brigade to Long Island."

His regiment was in the disastrous battle of Long Island, in August, 1776. When it began, he was stationed at Flatbush, and was in command of a picket guard, and found himself cut off from the body of the Continental troops by the sudden advance of the enemy between him and their encampment. The details of the battle as given in the histories of that day are too numerous for a place in this memoir; but there were those alive within the memory of many now living who participated in the events of that day, and have often related the part which Colonel Henshaw's detachment took in them, and uniformly ascribed to it great gallantry in cutting its way through the Hessian troops with an overwhelming superiority in numbers. There is a very brief and unassuming account of it in a letter which he wrote to his wife, the day after the battle, and before the army began their memorable retreat to the main-land: "We have had an engagement with the enemy, were surrounded by them, and had a number killed and taken. I was with the party that were surrounded,

* If any of the orders contained in the Orderly Book of Colonel Henshaw, herewith published, should be found to correspond, substantially, with what have been published from other sources, it will not be difficult to understand how this may have happened from the circumstance of his co-operating in duty with General Gates, instead of having a distinct department to himself.

and, through a kind Providence, got through their fire without being wounded or taken ; the particulars of which I have not time to relate, as the enemy are close to us, and we expect to be attacked every hour." His statement of the affair, as given a short time before his death, when his memory had been somewhat impaired, is : " I commanded a picket-guard at Flatbush, where the enemy were encamped, who marched and formed a line between us and our encampment. Knowing we could not receive orders, we marched for our lines. We fortunately *got on* with little loss." But, as showing how sudden the movement on his part was, he states that "he lost his saddle-bags, spurs, night-clothes, and gloves, which he had not time to take with him."

After that he was, for some time, with his regiment in the neighborhood of King's Bridge and White Plains, and took an active part in the battle at the latter place. At this time he was again offered a colonelcy of a regiment, which he declined, as he did not think it right to prefer a junior officer to those who, by the disbanding of their regiments by expiration of the times of their enlistments, would be deprived of their commands. When the army marched into New Jersey, his regiment was under the command of General Lee until he was taken prisoner, when his place was filled by General Sullivan. During this time his regiment was under his command in the absence of its colonel, and was with Washington at Trenton, Princeton, and Morristown ; at which place, having resigned his office, Colonel Henshaw left the army, in February, 1777. The reason for this step was the number of officers who had lost their command by the disbanding of their regiments ; and the demands of a young family, which called him home as a matter of personal duty. He left the service, however, with great reluctance, as his taste naturally led him to a military life, and this had been strengthened by his early and later experiences in active service. But he did not retire from public life, nor lose a jot of interest in the affairs of the country, upon withdrawing from the army. He was repeatedly chosen to represent his town of Leicester in the General Court, and was for many years an active magistrate in the county.

Colonel Henshaw married, for his second wife, Phebe Swan, a daughter of Dudley Wade Swan, of Leicester ; and among the children of the marriage was one to whom he gave the name of his old associate in arms, Horatio Gates, who died in 1860, at the age of seventy-one, a much respected citizen of Leicester. Colonel Henshaw himself died

in February, 1820, at the age of eighty-four; his wife having died in 1808.

Enough has appeared in this incomplete sketch of the life of Colonel Henshaw to show that he possessed many strong and decided traits of character; but it can, at best, give a very imperfect idea of his personal qualities as a citizen and a member of society. In his deportment and manner there was a courtesy and dignity which had been cultivated by his association with military life, and the distinguished men of his day. He was a gentleman of the old school in his dress as well as personal bearing. He rode a horse with grace and ease; and, when walking, moved with an erect figure and a firm and measured step. He never gave up the cocked-hat, boots, and spurs which were characteristic of the men of the Revolution. He was social in his habits, conversed with fluency and ease, and had a store of interesting incidents and agreeable memories of the war and the men he had known, which made him a welcome guest and companion with the young as well as the old. In his life he exemplified his profession as a Christian, and was a liberal supporter of the religious and educational interests of the town, where he was universally respected and esteemed.

He belonged to a class of men who seem to have been raised up by Providence to plan and carry through the Revolution, and lay the foundation of a free and independent Republic. Like most of his associates, his politics were of the school of Washington and Hamilton, before offices had become "spoils," to be won by feats of unscrupulous political partisanship. And if the memoir of one whose life was chiefly spent upon his farm, amidst the duties of a citizen and the courtesies of a Christian gentleman, can do no more, it may serve to keep alive the remembrance of the class of men, and their qualities, who left to their posterity the heritage of freedom which they had won by their patriotism and courage.

[The following memoranda are copied from Colonel Henshaw's Family Bible; most of the entries being in his own handwriting.]

RUTH, wife of WILLIAM HENSHAW, deceased Jan. 1, 1769, aged twenty-five years.

Sarah Scott deceased April 19, 1838.
Elizabeth Flint Aug. 7, 1827.
William Henshaw, Jr. June 9, 1772.

PHEBE, wife of WILLIAM HENSHAW, was born Jan. 12, 1753. Deceased Nov. 5, 1808, aged fifty-five years.

WILLIAM HENSHAW, son of DANIEL and ELIZABETH BASS HENSHAW, of Boston, was married to RUTH SARGEANT, daughter of JONATHAN SARGEANT, of Leicester, on the fourth day of February, 1762.

Their children are as follows:—

1. Sarah Henshaw born Nov. 4, 1762.
2. Elizabeth Henshaw Sept. 8, 1764.
3. William Henshaw, Jr. Feb. 17, 1767.

WILLIAM HENSHAW, son of DANIEL and ELIZABETH HENSHAW aforesaid, was married to PHEBE SWAN, daughter of DUDLEY WADE SWAN, of Leicester, on the twelfth day of September, 1771.

Their children are as follows:—

1. Ruth Henshaw born Dec. 15, 1772.
2. Joseph Henshaw Sept. 11, 1774.
3. Phebe Henshaw Dec. 4, 1777.
4. William Henshaw Jan. 7, 1780.
5. Daniel Henshaw May 9, 1782.
6. Katherine Henshaw May 11, 1784.
7. Lucinda Henshaw Sept. 23, 1786.
8. Horatio Gates Henshaw Sept. 21, 1788.
9. Benjamin Henshaw Dec. 7, 1793.
10. Almira Henshaw Feb. 1, 1796.

Ruth H. Bascom deceased Feb. 16, 1846.
Joseph Henshaw July 15, 1855.
Phebe Denny Aug. 11, 1815.
William Henshaw Oct. 18, 1862.
Daniel Henshaw July 9, 1863.
Katherine Henshaw Jan. 14, 1806.
Lucinda H. Daugherty Feb. 19, 1870.
Horatio Gates Henshaw May 7, 1860.
Benjamin Henshaw Jan. 18, 1795.
Almira Henshaw Nov. 28, 1831.

ORDERLY BOOK.*

The Regiment of the Hon. Artemas Ward, Esq.†

JONATHAN WARD, Lieut.-Colonel.

EDWARD BARNES, 1st Major.

TIMOTHY BIGELOW, 2d Major.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Josiah Fay.	Joseph Livermore.	Loring Lincoln.
Seth Washburn.	Ezra Beman.	Asa Rice.
Job Cushing.	William Morse.	Paul Bridgham.
Daniel Barnes.	Abel Perrey.	Aaron Abbey.
James Millen.	Asaph Sherman.	Jonas Brown.
Luke Drury.	.	William Gates.
Jonas Hubbard.	.	Thomas Seever.
Samuel Hood.	.	Obadiah Mann.
Moses Weelock.	.	Elisha Liman.
— Smith.	Moses Kellogg.	
James Hart	.	Adjutant.
William Boyd	.	Quartermaster.
—	.	Surgeon.

The Hon. John Thomas, Esq.'s Regiment.‡

The Hon. JOHN THOMAS, Esq., Colonel.

JOHN BAILEY, Jun., Lieut -Colonel.

THOMAS MITCHELL, Major.

JOHN JACOBS, 2d Major.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Amos Turner.	Prince Stetson.	Joshua Barstow.
Samuel Stockbridge.	Attwood Mott.	Caleb Nickolls.
Nathaniel Winslow.	Joshua Jacobs.	Nathaniel Chittenden.
Freedom Chamberlain.	John Turner, Jun.	John Leavitt.
Eleazar Hamlin.	Amos Shaw.	Increase Robinson.

* At the top of the first page is the following memorandum in the handwriting of Colonel Henshaw: "Present from Colo. Joseph Reed, Esq., to Wm. Henshaw, July 5th, 1775." — EDS.

† In the list of commissions ordered to be given out to General Ward's regiment, May 23, 1775, and printed in 4 Force's American Archives, II., 823, only the first nine companies are included; and the names of John Smith, Timothy Brigham, and Thomas Bond are given as lieutenants of the companies commanded by Captains Hubbard, Hood, and Weelock, respectively. In Force's list there are several variations in the spelling of the names, of which only two are important, — Miller instead of Millen, and Wood instead of Hood. Henshaw's handwriting is very clear and exact, and in each instance it is impossible to mistake the name as he has written it. In Force's lists the second lieutenants are called ensigns. — EDS.

‡ In the list printed in 4 Force, II., 825, 826, there are several variations in spelling which are obviously mistakes of the copyist. The name of the second lieutenant of Captain Stockbridge's company is also given as Nicholson, and Solomon Shaw appears as second lieutenant of Captain Read's company, instead of David Cobb. — EDS.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
William Read.	Samuel Brown.	David Cobb.
Josiah Haden.	Zechariah Gurney.	Joseph Cole, Jun.
Daniel Lothrop.	Ephraim Jackson.	Abner Hayward.
Elijah Crooker.	King Laphan.	Jacob Rogers.
James Allen.	Jacob Allen.	Perez Warren.
	Luther Bailey	Adjutant.
	Adam Bailey	Quartermaster.
	Lemuel Cushing	Surgeon.

*Regiment.**

ASA WHETCOMB, Esq., Colonel.

JOSIAH WITNEY, Lieut.-Colonel.

EPHRAIM SAWYER, Major.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
John Fuller.	Ebenezer Bridge.	Jared Smith.
Ephraim Richardson.	Seth Haywood.	Ephraim Boynton.
David Wilden.	Ebenezer Wood.	Jabez Keep.
Abner Cranson.	Jon ^a Guild.	Samuel West.
James Burt.	John Kindrick.	Jonathan Sawyer.
Robert Longley.	Silvanus Smith.	Ephraim Smith.
Jon ^a Davis.	Jacob Pool.	Ezekiel Foster.
Edmund Bemis.	Elisha Fullsome.	John Mead.
Andrew Haskell.	John Wyman.	Benjamin West.
Agrippa Wills.	John Hoar.	David Foster.
Benjamin Hastings.	John Houghton.	Jonathan Meriam.
	Jerimiah Guager	Adjutant.
	William Dunmore	Surgeon.
	Jerimiah Larton	Quartermaster.

Regiment.†

JOSEPH READ, Esq., Colonel.

EBENEZER CLAP, Lieut.-Colonel.

CALVIN SMITH, Major.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Oliver Pond.	Wigglesworth Messenger.	Elias Bacon.
Samuel Payson.	Royal Kellock.	Enoch Hewins.

* The list of Colonel Whitcomb's regiment, June 3, 1775, in 4 Force, II., 827, does not contain the names of the regimental officers, and there are numerous variations in the company officers. Benjamin Hastings and his two lieutenants do not appear, as they were not recommended for commissions until June 30. Captains Wilden, Longley, and Wills are called Wilder, Langley, and Wells, and these are no doubt the correct spellings. The lieutenants of Captain Burt's company are given as Ebenezer Woods and Jabez Keep, instead of John Kindrick and Jonathan Sawyer, who are assigned to Captain Haskell's company. Captain Wilder's lieutenants are Jonathan Quits and Timothy Boutall, neither of whom appears in Colonel Henshaw's list. Captain Wells's lieutenants are given as Jacob Poole and Ezekiel Foster; and Captain Davis's as Elisha Fallum and John Meed, while Wyman and Benjamin West are assigned to Cranston, and Hoar and David Foster to Bemis. Guild and Samuel West do not appear in Force's list. — EDS.

† The list (May 18, 1775) in 4 Force, II., 823, has Hezekiah Chapman as chaplain, Levi Willard as surgeon, and Joseph Adams as surgeon's mate. Instead of Petty and Farmer among the lieutenants his list gives Potter and Farrer. — EDS.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Andrew Peters.	Levi Alderich.	William Dalling.
William Briggs.	Simon Leach.	Jedidiah Southworth.
Seth Bullard.	Thomas Petty.	Ezekiel Plimton.
Samuel Warren.	Joseph Cody.	George Whipple.
David Batchelor.	Benjamin Farmer.	Robert Taft.
Samuel Cobb.	Japhet Daniels.	Amos Ellis.
Moses Knapp.	Nehemiah White.	Benj ^a Capron.
Edward Segrave.	Job Knap.	Peter Taft.
	John Holden	Adjutant.
	William Jennison	Quartermaster.
	_____	Surgeon.

*Timothy Walker, Esqr's Regiment.**

TIMOTHY WALKER, Colonel.
NATHANIEL LEONARD, Lieut.-Colonel.
ABIEL MITCHEL, Major.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
John Perry.	John Pain.	James Bucklin.
Samuel Bliss.	Aaron Walker.	Joseph Allen.
Silas Cobb.	Isaac Smith.	Isaac Fisher.
Francis Liscomb.	Matthew Randel.	Seth Pratt.
Macy Williams.	Samuel Lane.	John Cook.
Peter Pitts.	Zebedee Praideau.	Henry Briggs.
Caleb Richardson.	Enoch Robinson.	Solomon Stanley.
John King.	Noah Hall.	Abraham Hathway.
Oliver Soper.	Simeon Cobb.	Thomas Williams.
Samuel Tubbs, Jun.	John Shaw.	Joel Tubbs.
	Mason Shaw	Adjutant.
	Jacob Fuller	Quartermaster.
	David Parker	Surgeon.

Theophilus Cotton, Esqr's Regiment.†

THEOPHILUS COTTON, Colonel.
ICHABOD ALDEN, Lieut.-Colonel.
EBENEZER SPROUT, Major.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Thomas Mahew.	Nathan ^a Lewis.	Benjamin Warren.
Earl Clapp.	Isaac Pope.	Charles Church.
John Bradford.	Jesse Shirtefant.	Thomas Sampson.
John Brigham.	Edward Sparrow.	Nehemiah Cobb.
Joshua Benson.	William Thomson.	James Smith.
Isaac Wood.	Abiel Townsend.	Foxwell Thomas.
Peleg Wadworth.	Seth Drew.	Joseph Sampson.
Samuel Bradford.	Andrew Sampson.*	Judah Alden.

* The list in 4 Force, II., 823, gives the name of the surgeon as Daniel Park instead of David Parker, and has Raidean instead of Prideau. — Eds.

† The list in 4 Force, II., 824, 825, May 26, 1775, names William Thomas as surgeon and John Thomas as surgeon's mate, and has John Bradford instead of Samuel Bradford, Jesse Sturtefant instead of Jesse Shirtefant, Archelaus Cole instead of Arcippus Cole, and Judah Allen instead of Judah Alden. — Eds.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Amos Wade.	Arcippus Cole.	Lemuel Wood.
Edward Hammon.	Timothy Ruggles.	Nathan Sears.
	Joshua Thomas	Adjutant.
	John Cotton	Quartermaster.
	— — — — —	Surgeon.

*Regiment.**

JOHN MANSFELD, Esq., Colonel.
 ISRAEL HUTCHINSON, Lieut.-Colonel.
 EZRA PUTNAM, Major.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Ezra Newall.	Zadock Buffington.	John Peirce.
Enoch Putnam.	John Dodge.	Benj ^a Crafts.
Ebenezer Francis.	James Bancroft.	James Matthews.
Asa Prince.	John Upton.	Grimes Tufts.
Benj ^a Kimball.	Job Whipple.	Benjamin Gardiner.
Thomas Barns.	Nathaniel Cleaves.	Joseph Henrick.
Addison Richardson.	Francis Cocks.	Frederick Reed.
John Low.	Stephen Wilkins.	Archb ^d Batchelor.
Gideon Foster.	Bille Porter.	Hartfail White.
Nathan Brown.	Ephraim Emerton.	Thomas Downing.
— — — — —	— — — — —	Adjutant.
— — — — —	— — — — —	Quartermaster.
— — — — —	— — — — —	Surgeon.

Regiment.†

TIMOTHY DANIELSON, Esq., Colonel.
 WILLIAM SHEPPARD, Lieut.-Colonel.
 DAVID LEONARD, Major.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Silvanus Walker.	Esau Coburn.	Samuel Flower.
Enoch Cheapin.	Luke Day.	John Sheppard, Jun.
Warren Parks.	Richard Fally.	Lem ^a Bancroft.
Lebbeius Ball.	Levi Dunham.	.
Gedeon Burt.	Aaron Still.	Walter Pinchon.
Paul Langdon.	Avery Parker.	Daniel Cadwell.

* The list in 4 Force, II., 826, omits the names of the staff officers, and has Francis Fox instead of Francis Cocks, John Reese instead of John Peirce, Simeon Tufts instead of Grimes Tufts, Herrick instead of Henrick, and omits Downing's Christian name; and there are some other slight variations. — Eds.

† The list in 4 Force, II., 826, May 27, 1775, has David Sheppard as surgeon, omits the name of the second lieutenant in Walker's company; has Cadwell as first lieutenant in Langdon's company, and omits the name of his second lieutenant; omits the names of Burt's or Burst's two lieutenants; has Enos Chapin and Warham Parks instead of Enoch Cheapin and Warren Parks; Farguison instead of Furgerson; omits Peters, Egrees and his two lieutenants, and Kemp-ton and his two lieutenants; and adds Jonathan Bardwell as captain, with William Gillmore and Moses How for lieutenants; and also omits from the lists of lieutenants, Still, Parker, Lemuel Bancroft, Pinchon, and Pickens, and adds to the first lieutenants Samuel Flower, Caleb Keep, J. Shepperd, Jr., Samuel Bancroft, and David Hambleton [Hamilton?], and names as second lieutenants Day, John Carpenter, Falley, and Dunham. — Eds.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Daniel Egrees.	Seth Smith.	John Pickens.
Nathan Peters.	. . . . .	Josiah Winter.
John Furgerson.	. . . . .	David Hamilton.
Thomas Kempton.	John Chadwick.	Amos Saper.
	William Toogood	Adjutant.
	William Young	Quartermaster.
	_____	Surgeon.

*Regiment.**

WILLIAM PRESCOTT, Esq., Colonel.
 JOHN ROBINSON, Lieut.-Colonel.
 HENRY WOOD, Major.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Henry Farewell.	Levi Witney.	Benj ^a Ball.
Hugh Maxwell.	Joseph Stebbins.	. . . . .
John Nutting.	Nathan ^l Lakin.	John Moshen.
Joshua Parker.	Amariah Fassett.	Thomas Rogers.
Asa Parker.	Ebenezer Spaulden.	. . . . .
Eliphalet Densmore.	Joseph Spaulden.	John Williams.
Oliver Parker.	Joseph Gilbert.	Thomas Spaulden.
Joseph Moore.	Ephraim Corey.	Thomas Cummings.
Abijah Wyman.	. . . . .	Joseph Baker.
Samuel Gilbert.	. . . . .	. . . . .
Samuel Patch.	Joshua Brown	. . . . .
Reuben Dow.	John Goss.	. . . . .
	William Green	Adjutant.
	_____	Quartermaster.
	_____	Surgeon.

Regiment.†

JAMES FRYE, Esq., Colonel.
 JAMES BRICKETT, Lieut.-Colonel.
 THOMAS POOR, Major.

* The list in 4 Force, II., 824, May 25, 1775, has only the names of the first four captains, with Asa Lawrence, Elpt. Dinsmore, Samuel Patch, and Oliver Parker, as first lieutenants, and Abijah Wyman, Timo. Woodward, and Joseph Moor, as second lieutenants; but in two recommendations of the Committee of Safety, June 22, and June 23, Samuel Patch is named as a captain, and Zachary Walker and Joshua Brown as lieutenants in his company; and the following persons are also named: Ebenezer Spalding as first lieutenant, Thomas Rogers second lieutenant in Parker's company; John Williams as first lieutenant, Thomas Spalding second lieutenant in Lawrence's company, and Ball, Mosher, Cummings, and Baker as second lieutenants in Farwell's, Nutting's, Wyman's, and Gilbert's companies respectively. — Eds.

† In copying this roster, Colonel Henshaw evidently made several mistakes. The list in 4 Force, II., 825, gives Daniel Hardy, adjutant; Thomas Kitteridge, surgeon; Benjamin Foster, quartermaster; Benjamin Varnum, surgeon's mate; and William Hudson as the name of the captain. It also includes Samuel Johnson, Nathaniel Herrick, John Robinson, Thomas Stickney, Timothy Johnson, John Merritt, Wells Chasse, — Fox, and Ballard Foller as first lieutenants; Cyrus Marble, Issac Abbot, Eliphalet Bodwill, Benjamin Pearly, Eliphalet Hardy, Nathaniel Eaton, Reuben Evans, and — Reed as second lieutenants. Colonel Henshaw, however, is right with regard to the name of the captain, William Hudson Ballard. (See General Orders, Aug. 9th.) — Eds.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
John Davis.		
William Pearly.		
Nathan ^l Gage.		
James Sawyer.		
Jonathan Evans.		
John Currier.		
Benj ^a Farnum.		
William Hudson Ballard.		
Jonas Richardson.		
Benjamin Ames.	David Chandler.	
	Thomas Kitteridge . . .	Adjutant.
	Daniel Hardy	Quartermaster.
	Benjamin Foster	Surgeon.

*Regiment.**

THOMAS GARDNER, Esq., Colonel.
 WILLIAM BOND, Lieut.-Colonel.
 MICHAEL JACKSON, Major.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Thomas Drury.	William Maynard.	Joseph Mixer.
Phineas Cook.	Josiah Warren.	Aaron Richardson.
Nathan Fuller.	Nathan Smith.	John George.
Isaac Hall.	Caleb Brooks.	Samuel Cutler.
Josiah Harris.	Barthol ^m Irace.	Thomas Miller.
Abner Craft.	. . . . .	John Child.
Abijah Child.	Joshua Swan.	Jedidiah Thayer.
Benjamin Lock.	Soloman Bowman.	Stephen Frost.
Moses Draper.	Ebenezer Brattle.	. . . . .
Nailer Hatch.	. . . . .	. . . . .
— — — — —	. . . . .	Adjutant.
— — — — —	. . . . .	Quartermaster.
— — — — —	. . . . .	Surgeon.

Regiment.†

JOHN NIXON, Esq., Colonel.
 THOMAS NIXON, Lieut.-Colonel.
 JOHN BUTTERICK, Major.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Joseph Butler.	Silas Walker.	. . . . .
Abeih Brown.	Daniel Taylor.	Silas Mann.
William Smith.	John Heald.	John Hartwell.
Micajah Gleason.	Jonas Kimball.	W ^m Ryan.
Moses McFarland.	David Bradley.	Jacob Quimby.
David Moore.	Micah Goodenow.	Jonathan Hill.
Thomas Drury.	William Maynard.	Joseph Mixer.

* In the list in 4 Force, II., 827, we have Downy instead of Drury, Trow instead of Irace, Josiah Swan instead of Joshua Swan, Muier instead of Mixer, and Cutter instead of Cutler. — Eds.

† The only names in 4 Force, II., 829, are those of the last three captains and their lieutenants. In his list Pattee is given as Patten, Riggs as Briggs, and Mixer as Muier. — Eds.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Samuel McCobb.	Benjamin Pattee.	John Riggs.
Ebenezer Winship.	William Warren.	Richard Buckminster.
	Abel Holden	Adjutant.
	John White	Quartermaster.
	_____	Surgeon.

*Regiment.**

EBENEZER BRIDGE, Esq., Colonel.
 MOSES PARKER, Lieut.-Colonel.
 JOHN BROOKS, Major.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Jonathan Stickney.	Elijah Danforth.	John Lewis.
Benjamin Walker.	John Flint.	Ebenezer Fitch.
John Batchelor.	Ebenezer Dammon.	James Bancroft.
Ebenezer Bancroft.	Nathan ¹ Holden.	Samuel Brown.
Peter Coburn.	Josiah Forster.	Ebenezer Vernon.
John Ford.	Isaac Parker.	Jonas Parker.
John Rowe.	Mark Pool.	Ebenezer Cleveland.
Archelaus Towne.	James Ford.	David Wallingsford.
John Harnden.	W ^m Blanchard.	Eleazer Stickney.
Charles Forbush.	Jere Blanchard.	James Silver.
	Joseph Fox	Adjutant.
	John Bridge	Quartermaster.
	Walter Hastings	Surgeon.

Regiment.†

JOHN PATERSON, Esq., Colonel.
 SETH READ, Lieut.-Colonel.
 JERIMIAH CADY, Major.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Samuel Kelson.	John Bacon.	Nahum Powers.
William Wyman.	Samuel Chapin.	Peter White.
Joseph Moss.	William Bowdoin.	. . . . .
Samuel Sloan.	Zebadiah Sabins.	Enos Parker.
Charles Dibben.	Simeon Smith.	. . . . .
William Goodrich.	David Pixley.	. . . . .
David Noble.	Joseph Walch.	Josiah Wright.
Thomas Williams.	Moses Ashley.	Orange Stoddard.
Nathan Haskins.	William Clark.	Samuel Wilcocks.
Theodore Bliss.	John Lampson.	Francis Cabot.
_____	_____	Adjutant.
_____	_____	Quartermaster.
_____	_____	Surgeon.

* The list in 4 Force, II., 826, does not contain the names of the officers of the last four companies and of the quartermaster and surgeon. In Colonel Henshaw's list the names of the captains of the last three companies and of the quartermaster and surgeon are not in his handwriting, and are in a different colored ink. — Eds.

† The list in 4 Force, II., 825, contains only the first nine companies, and has Shelton instead of Kelson, Dibbell instead of Dibben, Watkins instead of Haskins, Bowdoin instead of Bowdoin, and Wilche instead of Walch. It also designates Parker as second lieutenant in Wyman's company, and White as second lieutenant in Dibben or Dibbell's company; and it transposes Stoddard and Ashley, whose Christian name is wanting in Force's list. — Eds.

*Regiment.**

JAMES SCAMMONS, Colonel.
JOHNSON MOULTON, Lieut.-Colonel.
DAVID WOOD, Major.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Samuel Derby.	James Donnell.	Joshua Trafton.
Tobias Fernald.	Thomas Cutts.	Parker Forster.
Ebenezer Sullivan.	Thomas Butler.	Nathaniel Lord.
Samuel Sawyer.	William Cozins.	Jerimiah Littlefield.
Jerimiah Hill.	Samuel Merrit.	Peter Page.
Joshua Bragdon.	Morgan Lewis.	Moses Sweet.
Jessee Dormom.	Daniel Merrett.	Joseph Pettingill.
Samuel Leighton.	William Farnall.	William Frost.
Jonathan Newall.	Thomas Newhall.	Edward Low.
Phillip Hubbard.	Jedidiah Goodwin.	James Roberts.
	George Marsden	Adjutant.
	Samuel Nason	Quartermaster.
	_____	Surgeon.

Regiment.†

EBENEZER LARNARD, Esq., Colonel.
DANFORTH KYES, Lieut.-Colonel.
JONATHAN HOLMAN, Major.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Peter Hairwood.	Asa Danforth.	Benja ^a Pollard.
Adam Martin.	Abel Mason.	Benjamin Felton.
John Grainger.	Matthew Grey.	. . . .
Joel Green.	David Bouty.	. . . .
Samuel Billings.	Barnes Sears.	Stephen Goreham.
William Campbell.	Reuben Davis.	Thomas Fisk.
Arther Faggot.	Jonathan Carroll.	John Haywood.
Nathaniel Healy.	Salem Town.	. . . .
Samuel Curtis.	Samuel Larned.	W ^a Polly.
Isaac Bolster.	John Hasleton.	. . . .
	_____ Banister	Adjutant.
	_____	Quartermaster.
	_____	Surgeon.

Regiment.‡

JOHN FELLOWS, Esq., Colonel.
NATHAN EAGER, Lieut.-Colonel.
BENJAMIN TUPPER, Major.

* In the list in 4 Force, II., 824, there are numerous variations in the spelling. Of these the most important are Madison instead of Marsden, Nowell instead of Newall and Newhall, Merrill instead of Merrit and Merrett, Lather instead of Leighton, Cattes and Cupont instead of Cutts and Cozins, and Frafton instead of Trafton. — Eds.

† The list in 4 Force, II., 823, has Doggett instead of Faggot, Prouty instead of Bouty, Fish instead of Fisk, Howard instead of Haywood, and some other slight variations in spelling. — Eds.

‡ The list in 4 Force, II., 826, 827, omits Steward Blake as second lieutenant in Hazleton's company, and adds Samuel Allen as second lieutenant in Webber's company. It also gives Warner instead of Warren, and Bostwick instead of Berwick, and there are several slight variations in spelling. — Eds.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
William King.	Samuel Brewer.	Gamaliel Whiting.
Jonathan Allen.	Oliver Lyman.	Jonathan Sterns.
Israel Chapin.	Perez Bardwell.	William Watson.
William Bacon.	John Hubbard.	Michael Loomes.
Moses Soule.	Noah Allen.	Solomon Dening.
Robert Webster.	Chris ^r Bannister.	Everton Berwick.
Ebenezer Pomroy.	—— Wallis.	Dan ^l Kirtland.
Abel Thayer.	Joseph Warren.	. . . . .
Eben. Webber.	Samuel Bartlet.	. . . . .
Simeon Hazleton.	George Blake.	Steward Blake.
	Ebenezer Bennet	Adjutant.
	Seth Hunt	Quartermaster.
	—— ———	Surgeon.

*Regiment.**

EPHRAIM DOOLITTLE, Esq., Colonel.
 BENJAMIN HOLDEN, Lieut.-Colonel.
 WILLARD MOORE, Major.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Joel Fletcher.	John Wheeler.	Jonas Prouter.
Adam Wheeler.	Elisha Sterns.	Adam Maynard.
Jon ^s Holman.	John Bowker.	David Poor.
John Jones.	Samuel Thomson.	
Robert Oliver.	Thomas Glover.	Abraham Pennel.
Abel Wilder.	Jonas Allen.	Daniel Peek.
—— ———		Adjutant.
—— ———		Quartermaster.
—— ———		Surgeon.

Regiment.†

JONATHAN BREWER, Esq., Colonel.
 WILLIAM BUCKMINSTER, Lieut.-Colonel.
 NATHAN^d CUDWORTH, Major.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Isaac Gray.	Thomas Willington.	—— Wilson.
Edward Blake.	Abraham Tuckerman.	John Eames.
John Black.	Benjamin Gates.	John Patrick.
Aaron Haynes.	Elisha Brewer.	. . . . .
Daniel Whiting.	Zebadiah Dewey.	. . . . .
Benjamin Bullard.	Aaron Gardiner.	. . . . .
Thaddeus Russelles.	Nathan ^l Maynard.	Nathan ^l Reeves.
—— ———		Adjutant.
—— ———		Quartermaster.
—— ———		Surgeon.

* The list in 4 Force, II., 828, has Bowkin instead of Bowker, Proctor instead of Prouter, Pike instead of Peek. — Eds.

† In the list in 4 Force, II., 829, the Christian name of Dewey is given as Obadiah instead of Zebadiah, and Joseph Stebbins is named as an eighth captain, but as he had on the 17th of June, 1775, only twenty-one men in his company, he was not commissioned. — Eds.

*Regiment.**

DAVID BREWER, Esq., Colonel.

RUFUS PUTNAM, Lieut.-Colonel.

NATHANIEL DANIELSON, Major.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Homes Walbridge.	Jehiel Mungen.	James Blogget.
Peter Ingersol.	Silas Goodrich.	Thomas Barnham.
Levi Rounseval.	Henry Peirce.	Samuel Tabor.
Malcomb Henry.	John Gray.	David Sacket.
Isaac Cotton.	John Wright.	Nathan ¹ Alexander.
Jonathan Bardwell.	William Gilmore.	Moses How.
Abiathar Angel.	Isaac Warren.	Simeon Larned.
John Packard.	David Brewer, Jun.	Jonathan Allen.
Jonathan Danforth.	Joseph McNeal.	Levi Bowin.
	Thomas Weeks	Adjutant.
	Ebenezer Washburn . . .	Quartermaster.
	_____	Surgeon.

*Regiment.†*Hon. W^m HEATH, Esq., Colonel.

JOHN GRATON, Lieut.-Colonel.

JOTHAIN LORING 2d, Major.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Charles Cushing.	Elias Whitten.	Benjamin Beal.
Edward Payson Williams.	Samuel Forster.	Jonathan Dorr.
Moses Whiting.	Aaron Pain.	James Findale.
Joseph Guild.	John Gay.	Isaac Bullard.
John Boyd.	Ebenezer Dean.	Joshua Gould.
Elijah Vorse.	Phinias Pain.	William Sumner.
Silas Wild.	Nathaniel Niles.	William Herman.
Jacob Gould.	Asa Dyer.	_____ Shaw.
William Bent.	Theophilus Lyon.	Isajah Bussey.
Job Cushing.	Nathan ¹ Nichols.	Josiah Oakes.

Regiment.‡

BENJAMIN RUGGLES WOODBRIDGE, Esq., Colonel.

ABIJAH BROWN, Lieut.-Colonel.

WILLIAM STACY, Major.

* There are numerous variations in the spelling of the names as given in 4 Force, II., 829, 830. Of these the most important are Walbridge instead of Walbridge, Colton instead of Cotton, Ithiel Mungar instead of Jehiel Mungen, Rice instead of Peirce, Lackett instead of Sacket, and Lewis Boen instead of Levi Bowin. — EDS.

† Not in Force's lists. — EDS.

‡ The principal variations in the list in 4 Force, II., 828, are Cowden instead of Conder, Croaker instead of Crocker, Rowley instead of Rawley, Shay instead of Shaes, and Thomas Goodenough instead of Ithanor Goodnough. Shay is the person who afterward became famous as the leader in the insurrection called by his name. July 3d Asa Barnes was recommended for a commission as a captain, and Caleb Smith and Timothy Read as lieutenants in his company, and William Smith and Oliver Wagget as lieutenants in Captain King's company. Colonel Henshaw's lists were probably made out about the 1st of July. — EDS.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Reuben Dickerson.	Zacheus Crocker.	Daniel Shaes.
Noadiah Leonard.	Josiah Smith.	Samuel Gould.
Stephen Pearl.	Aaron Rawley.	Abner Pease.
David Conder.	. . . . .	. . . . .
John Cowles.	. . . . .	. . . . .
Ichabod Dexter.	Ithamor Goodnough.	John Mayo.
John King.	. . . . .	. . . . .
Seth Murray.	. . . . .	. . . . .

*A List of Officers Commissionated by the Massachusetts Congress, dated
May 19, 1775.*

In Provincial Congress, June 30, 1775.

The committee appointed to make out commissions for the officers of the Colony Army do hereby certify that the following is a true list of the officers they have made out commissions for, and delivered.

TIMOTHY LANGDON.

JOSEPH WHEELER.

A true copy. Attest:

SAMUEL FREEMAN, Secretary.

William Henshaw, Esq., Adjutant-General, commissioned June 27.

The regiments as they stand in the *manuscript pamphlet*, sent the General by the Congress:—

The Hon. Artemas Ward, Esq.	Jonathan Brewer.
Timothy Danielson.	Joseph Reed.
Thomas Gardener.	John Paterson.
Timothy Walker.	David Brewer.
William Prescott.	John Mansfeild.
John Nixon.	James Scammons.
John Fellows.	Hon. W ^m Heath.
Theophilus Cotton.	Ebenezer Larnard.
James Fry.	Benj ^a Ruggles Woodbridge.
Ephraim Doolittle.	John Glover.
Asa Whetcomb.	Moses Little.
Ebenezer Bridge.	Samuel Gerrish.

*Regiment.**

JOHN GLOVER, Esq., Colonel.

JOHN GERRY, Lieut.-Colonel.

GABRIEL JOHNNET, Major.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
William Curtis.	Robert Harris.	Thomas Curtis.
W ^m Bacon.	William Mills.	Seward Lee.
Thomas Grant.	William Bubier.	Ebenazar Graves.

* The list in 4 Force, II., 828, 829, June 15, 1775, has the names of William Lee as a captain with John Glover and Edward Archbald as lieutenants in his company, and gives Broughton instead of Brornton, Bleeker instead of Blackler, Merritt instead of Merrils, Selmon instead of Salomon, Collyer instead of Calyer, T. Courts instead of Curtis, and Lignerass instead of Signcross. — Eds.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Joel Smith.	John Bray.	Joshua Orn.
Nicholas Brornton.	John Stacy.	John Devereux.
W ^m Blackler.	Nathan ^l Clark.	Nathan ^l Pearse.
John Merrils.	Joshua Prentice.	Robert Nimblet.
John Salomon.	Israel Calyer.	Edward Holeman.
Francis Symonds.	W ^m Russell.	George Signcross.

*Regiment.**

MOSES LITTLE, Esq., Colonel.

ISAAC SMITH, Lieut.-Colonel.

JAMES COLLINS, Major.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Jacob Gerrish.	Silas Adams.	Thomas Brown.
Nathaniel Warner.	John Barnham.	Daniel Collins.
Nathaniel Wadé.	Joseph Hodgkins.	Aaron Parker.
Ab ⁿ Dodge.	Eben ^r Low.	James Lord.
John Baker.	Caleb Lampson.	Daniel Dorser.
Ezra Lunt.	Moses Kent.	Nathan ^l Montgomery.
Benjamin Perkins.	Joseph Whitimore.	W ^m Strickney.
Gedion Parker.	Joseph Evely.	Moses Trask.
Joseph Robey.	Shubael Gorham.	Enoch Parsons.
Timothy Barnard.	Paul Lunt.	Amos Atkinson.
Stephen Jenkins	Adjutant.	
_____	Quartermaster.	
_____	Surgeon.	

Regiment.†

SAMUEL GERRISH, Esq., Colonel.

JAMES WESTON, Major.

Captains.	Lieutenants.	2d Lieutenants.
Richard Dodge.	Robert Dodge.	Paul Dodge.
W ^m Rogers.	Samuel Carr.	John Noyes.
Thomas Cogswell.	Moses Dunton.	Amos Cogswell.
John Wood.		
Timothy Cory.	Thomas Cumings.	Jonas Johnson.
Barnabas Dodge.	Mathew Fairfield.	Joseph Knight.
Thomas Mighill.	Thomas Pike.	Mark Creasy.
Christopher Febiger	Adjutant.	
Michael Farley	Quartermaster.	
_____	Surgeon.	

* The list in 4 Force, II., 830, has Burman instead of Barnham, Wedkins instead of Hodgkins, Thompson instead of Lampson, Everly instead of Evely, and Brinard instead of Barnard. — Eds.

† The list in 4 Force, II., 830, June 22, 1775, gives Loammi Baldwin as lieutenant-colonel, Wessen as major, and David Jones as surgeon. It does not contain the names of Rogers and his two lieutenants, nor John Wood, and it includes Samuel Sprague as a captain with Joseph Cheever and William Oliver as his lieutenants, and John Baker, Jr., as a captain and Joseph Pettingill first lieutenant. — Eds.

Brigades.
 Thomas's.
 Spencer's.
 Heath's.
 Frye's.
 Green's.
 Sullivan's.

Brigade-Majors.
 Brewer.
 Trumbull.
 Henley.
 Cary.
 Box.
 Scammell.

Rifle Officers.
 Colonel W^m THOMPSON.
 Lieut.-Colonel EDW^d HAND.
 Major ROB^t MAGAW.
 Adjutant HOUSEACRE.
 Quartermaster THO^s CRAIGE.
 Surgeon W^m MAGAN.
 Mate MATHEW IRWINE.

CAMP AT CAMBRIDGE, April 20, 1775.

Sent a request to the Committees of Safety and Supplies for provision at Concord to be brought to Cambridge.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That Colonel Gardner repair immediately to Roxbury, and bring all the bread that can be obtained.

Ordered, That Colonel Bond bring all the cannon at Watertown, Newtown, and Waltham, together with part of the ammunition, into camp at Cambridge.

*In Council of War.**

Generals.
 Ward.
 Heath.
 Whitcombe.

Colonels.
 Frye.
 James Prescott.
 W^m Prescott.
 Bullard.
 Spaulding.
 Bridge.
 Barrett.

Lieut.-Colonels.
 Nixon.
 Whitney.
 Mansfield.
 Wheelock.
 Mann.

Ordered, That each colonel appoint for his regiment an adjutant, quartermaster, and sergeant-major.

Ordered, That Mr. Hastings be appointed steward to the army for the day.

GENERAL ORDERS. — All officers appointed before there is a regular establishment are appointed *pro tempore*.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That guards be posted as follows; viz.: —

Two companies in Charlestown Road, with advanced parties on the heights; one guard at Phips' Farm, one near the brickkiln, one at the bridge, and one towards Menotomy.† They are to keep a vigilant

* From an Orderly Book kept by John Fenno, secretary to the Commander-in-Chief, beginning April 20, 1775, and ending Sept. 6, 1775, now in the Library of the Historical Society, it appears that Joseph Ward, Secretary, and Samuel Osgood, A. D. C., were also present at this, the first, Council of War in the Revolution. — Eds.

† According to Fenno's Orderly Book, Colonel William Prescott was the officer in command. — Eds.

lookout, and, if the enemy make any movements, or if discovery should be made, to give immediate notice to the General.

That the guards parade near the meeting-house, and all adjutants do mount their men there; the town-house to be the guard-house at present.

That a guard be mounted, to consist of a subaltern, a sergeant, and corporal, with thirty men, for the general officers, and immediately attend at Captain Stedman's.

Mr. Bernsley Stevens appointed adjutant-general by the General.

That no guns be discharged in the streets in Cambridge without leave.

That a captain and fifty men do immediately march to bury the dead on the field of battle; one lieutenant, two sergeants, two corporals, to attend the party. This detachment is also ordered to take care of all the wounded that may be found on the road.

That every officer and soldier keep close to his quarters, and be ready to turn out complete in arms at a moment's warning and parade at the meeting-house.

That twenty men turn out of each regiment for the picket guard. That Colonel Spaulding command the guard,—two captains, four subalterns, four sergeants, and four corporals.

April 21st.

GENERAL ORDERS. — [That] Colonel Ward command the guard, — one captain, two subalterns, two sergeants, two corporals, forty rank and file, from each regiment.

The guards to be posted as follows : —

Two companies in Charlestown Road, with advanced guards on the heights: one guard towards Phips' Farm; one at Winter Hill, consisting of one subaltern, two sergeants, and twenty rank and file; one at the bridge; one towards Menotomy.

To keep a vigilant lookout; if the enemy make any movements, or any discovery is made, to give immediate notice to the General.

That each commander of a regiment or detachment now in camp, or that may hereafter arrive, take an exact list of the officers and soldiers by name, and make daily returns to the Adjutant-General of the number of officers and soldiers under his command, in the form following : —

A Return of Colonel ——— Regiment, April —, 1775.

<i>Colonels.</i>	<i>Lieut.-Colonels.</i>	<i>Majors.</i>	<i>Captains.</i>	<i>Subalterns.</i>	<i>Sergeants.</i>	<i>Drums and Fife.</i>	<i>Rank and File.</i>	<i>Total.</i>

That the Commissary-General do supply the troops with provisions in the best manner he can, without spending time for exactness. That

the two hogsheads of powder in the possession of Mr. Pigion be lodged with John Goddard, at Brookline, for the use of the American troops.

That the officers of the guards who have the care of the prisoners do take the best care of them, and treat them in the kindest manner, and procure good surgeons to attend the wounded.

That Colonel Gerrish be the officer of the day.

That Colonel Prescott, Colonel Warner, and Colonel Learned, to march their regiments immediately to Roxbury, to join General Thomas, Friday afternoon.

That the picket guard consist of five hundred men, commanded by Colonel Doolittle, Lieut.-Colonel Nixen, Major Butterick, one captain from Colonel Gerrish's regiment, one captain from General Whitcomb, one captain from Colonel Frye, one captain from Colonel Peirce, one captain from Colonel Prescott, one captain from Colonel Bridge, one captain from General Ward, one captain from Colonel Asa Whitcomb, two captains from Hampshire, two subalterns from each regiment.

That the officer of the main guard direct all his officers to give immediate notice to him if any important discovery be made, and he give notice to the officer of the picket guard.

That the officer of the picket guard do immediately turn out upon any alarm, and march to the place of the alarm.

This day, General Putnam, of Connecticut, attended the Council of War.

The parole, "PUTNAM."

April 22d.

THE GENERAL ORDERS. — That Colonel Stark march to Chelsea, and take three hundred men with him, to defend the inhabitants of said town.

Captain Samuel Osgood appointed brigade-major.

The same as yesterday, Lieut.-Colonel Parker command the guards.

The picket guard the same as yesterday.

Colonel Joseph Henshaw, Lieut.-Colonel Denny, and Major Moore, commanding officers.

That Captain Brown, of Watertown, do appoint a proper guard-house for stragglers and persons to guard them who have had the small-pox, that the distemper may thereby be prevented from spreading among the inhabitants.

GENERAL ORDERS, to be read at the head of each regiment and department by the commanding officer. — Whereas many persons in Cambridge have left their houses and property: *Ordered*, that if any soldier is found to injure the interest of any person whatever, he be punished according to the rules of the army. That if any soldier discharge his gun, except against any enemy, the officer of the guard confine him.

That a sergeant and six men mount daily to guard the wounded at

Mr. Abraham Watson's house, and that they be taken from the main guard.

That General Heath have a guard appointed to attend him at his lodgings.

That a guard be appointed out of Captain Cook's company to prevent any injury that may happen to Judge Danford's house by persons entering the same. Guard to consist of a sergeant and seven privates.

That Colonel Green do march his regiment to Roxbury, and join General Thomas.

The parole, "SERGEANT."

April 23d.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That two companies mount guard at Mr. Richardson's.

That Captain Hill repair to Woburn, and apply to the selectmen for a suitable house for the reception of prisoners, and a guard of fifty men, and to know if the selectmen can provide provisions for the guard and prisoners.

Memorandum. — Reported, that Josiah Breed is a prisoner at Boston, and desired, that, if there should be an exchange of prisoners, he may be remembered.

April 24th.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That the commanding officer of each regiment grant passes to such persons as bring provisions and clothing for the camp.

That General Thomas do send an officer, with a sufficient guard, to convoy a mortar and ordinance stores to Mr. John Goddard, in Brookline, where the powder is now deposited.

*April 25th.**

GENERAL ORDERS. — That each adjutant, sergeant-major, and orderly sergeant, be immediately provided with orderly-books, in order regularly to enter the orders of the army.

That the Adjutant-General obtain, as soon as possible, a complete return of the army, in order to form an equal duty-roll.

That the quartermaster of each regiment be directed to see that proper kettles be provided by loan from the inhabitants for the use of the Provincial troops, until the Province stores can be delivered out; and that the commanding officers of each company see that they are returned in proper season.

Officer for the day, Colonel William Henshaw.

Field-officers for the picket, Colonel Porter, Major Sawyer. The picket to consist of seven [captains],† fourteen subalterns, twenty-eight sergeants, three hundred and fifty rank and file.

* From Fenno's Orderly Book it appears that these orders were issued on the 24th, as well as the orders immediately preceding. They are probably what are elsewhere designated as "after orders." — Eds.

† Supplied from Fenno's Orderly Book. — Eds.

Field-officers for the main guard, Colonel Bridge, Major Carter. Main guard to consist of six captains, twelve subalterns, twenty-four sergeants, three hundred rank and file. The aforesaid guard be paraded this morning at nine o'clock, and relieve the present guards.

April 25th.

Parole, "CHATHAM."

GENERAL ORDERS.—That vaults be dug in some convenient place for each regiment.

Adjutant of the day, Nathan Fuller.

Parole, "CHATHAM."

That Colonel Fry be officer of the day.

Field-officers for the picket, Colonel Prescott and Major Raymond. The picket to consist of seven captains, fourteen subalterns, twenty-eight sergeants, and three hundred and twenty rank and file.

Field-officers for the main guard, Colonel Green and Major Miller. Main guard to consist of six captains, twelve subalterns, twenty-four sergeants, three hundred and thirty rank and file; and that the aforesaid guards be provided this morning at nine o'clock, and relieve the present guards.

Adjutant of the day. ——— Guager.

AFTER ORDERS.—That one captain, two subalterns, and forty privates, be detached, and repair to the farthest guard in Charlestown Road, and then and there await the orders and directions of Mr Richard Devons, one of the Committee of Safety, . . . the guards to be posted as follows:—

Two companies in Charlestown Road, with advanced guards on the heights of land.

One guard towards Phips' Farm.

One at the bridge, one towards Menotomy, one at Winter Hill, consisting of one subaltern, two sergeants, and twenty rank and file.

That the sergeant and file of men who have the care of the prisoner named Divol convey him to Cambridge jail, and that the jail-keeper commit him to safe custody, and provide for his subsistence, and then that the said sergeant and file of men return to their duty.

That a court of inquiry be ordered by General Thomas to examine the prisoner named Brindley, and all others that may be afterwards taken, and discharge or confine them in such places as he shall judge suitable.

That the sergeant and file of men who have the care of Brindley safely guard him back to head-quarters in Roxbury.

That Captain Fox, with a party of twenty men, take prisoners Lieutenant Hamilton and his servant, and commit them to the place [the selectmen] have provided for them, and see that they have such things as are suitable for their comfortable subsistence.*

That the commanding officers of the main guard dismiss James

* The words between the brackets are supplied from Fenno's Orderly Book.
—EDS.

Holden, under their care, and send him, with a sergeant and file of men, without the —— guards.*

That each guard keep a vigilant lookout, and, if any movements made by the enemy, or if any discovery is made, to give immediate intelligence to the next guard, and so from guard to guard, till it reaches the picket guard, who are to give immediate notice to the General, and parade the men.

That this order be handed to the succeeding guard, and so on, till further orders.

That the officer of the main guard and officer of the picket be immediately furnished with these orders.

April 26th.

Parole, "HANCOCK."

Officer of the day, Colonel Doolittle.

Field-officers of the picket, Lieut.-Colonel Holden, Major Bigelow.

Field-officers of main guard, Lieut.-Colonel Brickett, Major Densmore.

That two companies be detached from the picket, and posted as follows; viz., one at Mrs. Inman's, and one in Charlestown Road.

That the reveille be beat every morning at four o'clock.

That, at the beating of the troop, the officers and privates be immediately assembled to parade.

That the tattoo be beat every evening at nine o'clock.

That, after the beating the tattoo, there be a profound silence through the camp.

Adjutant of the day, —— Southgate.

That the officers of the main guard order that a sentry be appointed out of the guard that is posted at the house of Captain Stedman, to be placed at the office of Mr. Pigion, commissary-general.

That the several regiments now at Watertown and Waltham march forward to Cambridge and Roxbury, their route to be directed by Colonel Porter.

That the commanding officer of the main guard post a sentry between the apparatus and library.

April 27th.

Parole, "BARRE."

Officer of the day, Colonel Gerrish.

Field-officers of the picket, Colonel Ward, Major Butterick.

Field-officers of main guard, Colonel Robertson, Major Reed.

Adjutant of the day from Colonel Porter's regiment, —— Warner.

Otherwise as usual.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That as many men as are not enlisted, and incline to remain in the army, enlist immediately, in order that it may be ascertained what number it may still be necessary to be raised in each town to complete the complement of troops for this Province, and

* Fenno's Orderly Book has "without the camp." — Eds.

to forward to each town their remaining quota; and the men that now enlist may be assured that they shall have liberty to be under the command of such officers as may be appointed by the Committee of Safety, until the particular regiments and companies are completed; and the utmost care will be taken to make every soldier happy in being under good officers.

That the field-officers take care that one-fifth part of the training soldiers of each town from whence these companies came be immediately enlisted out of the troops assembled in camp; and, if a sufficient number cannot be enlisted agreeable to an equal quota, that, in such case, the deficiency of such quota be immediately forwarded by a recruiting officer to each town, and, in the mean time, a sufficient number of troops present be retained until the quota of the troops for this Province be raised.

Parole, "WILKS."

Officer of the day, Colonel W^m Prescott for to-morrow.

Field-officers of the main guard, Colonel Wilder, Major Brooks.

Field-officers of picket guard, Colonel Witney, Major Baldwin.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Herd.

Otherwise as usual.

That the head colonel and commanders of detachments in this encampment appear at head-quarters at three o'clock afternoon, to sit in council.

That no field-officer presume to give a pass to any person that come down for the defence of their liberties, without first having obtained leave from the General.

April 28th.

Parole, "NEW YORK."

Officer of the day, Colonel Bridge, for to-morrow.

Officers of main guard, Colonel Woodbridge, Major Sawyer.

Field-officers of picket guard, Colonel Parker, Major Moore.

Adjutant of the day out of Colonel Bridge's regiment, ——— Fox.

Guards as usual.

April 29th.

Parole, "HAMPSHIRE."

Officer of the day, Colonel William Henshaw.

Field-officers of main guard, Colonel Peirce, Major Rand.

Field-officers of the picket guard, Colonel Joseph Henshaw, Major Wood.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Dickinson.

Otherwise as usual.

GENERAL ORDERS.—That Captain Eleazer Hamden* take into his custody the five prisoners from Scituate, and see that the above report of the Court of Inquiry to examine said prisoners be punctually complied with in every respect.

* Fenno's Orderly Book has "Hamlin," which is the correct spelling.—EDS.

That no person whatever presume to fire a gun without orders.

That all officers are to observe how duty is done, and reprimand those that are negligent, or report them to the proper officers, although they may not belong to the same corps.

That all officers see that the foregoing orders be punctually complied with.

April 30th.

Parole, "CONNECTICUT."

Officer of the day, Colonel Porter.

Officers of the main guard, Colonel Laggatt, Major Tracy.

Officers of the picket guard, Lieut.-Colonel Clark, Major Carter.

Otherwise as usual.

Adjutant of the day, ———.

GENERAL ORDERS. — One captain, two subalterns, four sergeants, four corporals, and fifty rank and file, be paraded to-morrow morning, and be ready to march so as to be at Charlestown Neck by nine o'clock in the morning, to assist in launching several boats, and then to return to camp; said detachment to receive the directions of Mr. Richard Devons.

That no person presume to charge his piece upon surprise, or on the quarter guards, with cartridges, but only powder and a running ball,* so that it may [be] drawn if occasion requires.

If any guards or regiments hear firing of arms near them, they are to send out immediately to know the persons and the cause of it; and, if soldiers without leave, they are to be made prisoners, and a report sent to the commanding officer.

That the commanding officers of the several regiments and detachments do require of their captains or commanders of companies an exact return of the number of men in each company now in camp, and how many of the abovesaid men in each company are enlisted for the campaign, and how many of the enlisted are gone home.

May 1st.

Parole, "CAMDEN."

Officer of the day, Colonel Patterson.

Officers of the main guard, Colonel Williams, Major Wells.

Officers of the picket guard, Colonel Eagar, Major Cordes.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Guager.

Otherwise as usual.

May 2d.

Parole, "ANDOVER."

Officer of the day, Colonel Ward.

Field-officers of main guard, Colonel Powell, Major Maxwell.

Field-officers of picket guard, Colonel Holden, Major Tupper.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Woodbridge.

Otherwise as usual.

* In Fenno's Orderly Book it is called a "rolling ball." — Eds.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That the quartermaster of each regiment see that vaults be immediately dug in some by-place for the use of the regiments; that the parade and camp be cleaned away every day, and all the filth buried.

That the colleges in particular, and the parade around them, be kept clean; and that four privates from each regiment do attend the order and direction of the quartermaster for the abovesaid purpose.

That Major McClary, with the regiment under his command, repair to Medford, and join the forces there, and keep a vigilant guard as far down the river as Winter Hill, till further orders.

That the order of the 30th April be punctually complied with every day; viz., that the commanding officer, &c.

That the Adjutant-General furnish the officers of the picket guard with a list of the names of the picket every day at the time of mounting the picket.

That the commanding officer of the main guard set a sentry over the pump before the guard-house, and take particular care that no person put any thing into said pump.

May 3d.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That four captains, eight subalterns, sixteen sergeants, two hundred privates, be drafted, to go upon fatigue. Colonel Doolittle command the detachment; and that he apply to the Commissary-General for necessary tools, and return the tools at night to the Commissary-General.

The officers will be under Mr. Chadwick, the engineer.

That every regiment and detachment parade at ten o'clock in the morning and at four o'clock in the afternoon.

Parole, "LANGDON."

Officer of the day, Colonel Joseph Henshaw.

Field officers of the main guard, Colonel W^m Henshaw, Major Bigelow.

Field officer of picket guard, Colonel Parker, Major Moor.

Adjutant of the day, ———.

Otherwise [as] usual.

That Samuel Chandler, captain of the teamsters, be freed from all other duty with the people of the teams whilst they are employed with their teams, by order of the Quartermaster-General.

That eight captains, sixteen subalterns, thirty-two sergeants, four hundred privates, be drafted, to go upon fatigue. Colonel Fry to command the detachment; and that he apply to the Commissary-General for necessary tools, and return them at night to the Commissary-General.

The officer to receive directions of Mr. Chadwick, the engineer.

That Lieutenants Farnum, Johnson, and Walker, adjutants Febiger, Warner, and Fox, escort the corpse of Lieutenant Hull to Charlestown.*

That no field-officer presume to give a pass to any person to go out of camp that came down in defence of his liberties before that person shall have presented to the field-officer a person not belonging to camp,

* Fenno's Orderly Book has, "the corpse of Lieut. Hull of 43d regiment of the Regulars." — Eds.

and out of the same town to which the person that makes application belongs, who is to tarry in camp till the person who has leave returns.

May 4th.

Parole, "CHATHAM."

Officer of the day, Colonel Doolittle.

Field-officers of main guard, Colonel Witney, Major Rand.

Field-officers of the picket guard, Lieut.-Colonel Holden, Major Brooks.

Adjutant of the day, ———.

Otherwise as usual.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That no rum be delivered to any but such as bring orders from the General. Three days' provision be delivered out at a time, and two days at a time, according to the rules of the army.

For fatigue, Colonel Porter.

May 5th.

Parole, "YORK."

Officer of the day, Colonel Peirce.

Field-officers of main guard, Lieut.-Colonel Nixon, Major But-
terick.

Field-officers of the picket guard, Lieut.-Colonel Clark, Major Fraiser.

Adjutant of the day, ———.

Otherwise as usual.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That Colonel Wyman take particular care of his men, that no outrage be committed on the person or property of any one individual whatever, and use his utmost endeavors to reduce his men to good order, as there have been repeated complaints from the houses of Mr. Temple of very disorderly conduct.

May 6th.

Parole, "PORTSMOUTH."

Officer of the day, Colonel James Prescott.

Main guard field-officers, Lieut.-Colonel Brickett, Major Reed.

Field-officers of the picket, Lieut.-Colonel Robinson, Major Shep-
pard.

For fatigue, Colonel Whiting.

Adjutant of the day, ———.

Otherwise as usual.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That no person who may have received en-
listing orders, and, in consequence thereof, has enlisted men, presume to dismiss any person who is enlisted, upon any consideration whatever, nor presume to re-enlist any person that is already enlisted, without special orders from the General.

That the commanding officer of the guard at Charlestown permit no person to go into Charlestown with any provision whatever, with or without a pass. This order to be given to the next officer who relieves the guard, and so continue, till further orders.

May 7th.

[Parole, "LIBERTY."]*

That all officers of the guard pay obedience to orders signed by the President of the Congress to the members of the same, which are to be in the following form; viz., To the guards of the Colony Army:—

Pursuant to a resolve of the Provincial Congress, you are hereby ordered to permit ———, a member of this Congress, with his company, to pass and repass with his company at all times.

May 8th, 1775.

Parole, "WORCESTER."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Gerrish.

Field-officer of the main guard, Lieut.-Colonel Parker, Major Bigilow.

Field-officers of the picket guard, Lieut.-Colonel Joseph Henshaw, Major Brooks.

Officer for fatigue, Lieut.-Colonel Holden.

Adjutant of the day, ———.

Otherwise as usual.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That no person presume to sell any spirituous liquor in the camp, but such as have been heretofore licensed for that purpose. That all persons immediately break off this iniquitous practice, which has a tendency to destroy the peace and good order of the camp; but, if there be any such persons who will not pay due obedience to this order, their spirituous liquors are to be stoven or seized and given in to the Commissary-General for the use of the army, said Commissary-General to be accountable to the Province therefor.

That Captain Stedman, Mr. Bradish, and others that are licensed to sell spirituous liquors, for the future retail no more to any belonging to the army or camp in Cambridge, except they have a written order from their respective captains, or, in their absence, the next commanding officer therefor, until further orders.

That, in future, provisions be delivered in the following manner:—

Colonel W ^m . Prescott's Regiment . . .	at 5 o'clock.
General Ward's Regiment . . .	$\frac{3}{4}$ after 5 "
Colonel Doolittle's . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$ after 6 "
" Frye's . . .	$\frac{1}{4}$ after 7 "
" Gerrish's . . .	at 8 "
General Whetcomb's . . .	$\frac{3}{4}$ after 8 "
Colonel Peirce's . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$ after 9 "
" Green's . . .	$\frac{1}{4}$ after 10 "
General Pomroy's . . .	at 11 "
Colonel Paterson's . . .	$\frac{3}{4}$ after 11 "
" Woodbridge's . . .	at 3 "
" Gardiner's . . .	$\frac{3}{4}$ after 3 "
" Bridge's . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$ after 4 "

* Supplied from Fenno's Orderly Book. — Ebs.

May 9th.

Parole, "SHREWSBURY"; countersign, "LIBERTY." *

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Whiting.

Field-officers for picket to-night, Colonel Woodbridge, Major But-
terick

Field-officers for main guard to-morrow, Colonel Porter, Major
Miller.

Field-officer for fatigue, Colonel Doolittle, to-morrow.

Adjutant for the day, ———.

Otherwise as usual.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That the Quartermaster-General take from the Commissary-General sixty tents for the use of Colonel Pomroy's regi-
ment, the commanding officer of said regiment to give his receipts to
the Commissary-General for said tents. That the said Quartermaster-
General furnish them with straw sufficient for encamping.

That the Quartermaster-General take from the Commissary-General
twenty-five tents for the use of Colonel Whetcomb's regiment, the
commanding officer of said regiment to give his receipt to the Com-
missary-General for said tents. That said Quartermaster-General fur-
nish them with straw sufficient for encamping.

That William Cutter be empowered to impress such and so many
persons as he may judge necessary to assist him in collecting the
effects that were taken from the regular troops that were in the late
skirmish, and bring them to head-quarters. Such effects to consist
only [of such] † as were in the wagons, and with the party that
escorted the wagons, together with all the horses and wagons.

That, after the 11th instant, the Commissary-General supply no
regiment with their allowance of provisions till the Adjutant, or some
other suitable person belonging thereto, has presented him with the
number and names of the persons belonging thereto, signed by the
commanding officer of each company belonging thereto. Such orderly
sergeant to take a list of his own company.

May 10th.

Parole, "LEICESTER"; countersign, "ORDER."

Officer of the day, Lieut.-Colonel Brickett.

Field-officers for the picket guard to-night, Lieut.-Colonel Clark,
Major Stacy.

Field-officers for main guard to-morrow, Colonel Paterson, Major
Woods.

Field-officer for the fatigue, Lieut.-Colonel Powell.

Adjutant of the day, ———.

Otherwise as usual.

* In Fenno's Orderly Book the countersign is "Freedom." — EDS.

† Supplied from Fenno's Orderly Book. — EDS.

May 11th.

Parole, "LANCASTER"; countersign, "PEACE."

Officer of the day, Colonel W^m Prescott.

Field-officers for the picket guard to-night, Colonel Green, Major Baldwin.

Field-officers of main guard to-morrow morning, Lieut.-Colonel Henshaw, Major Bigelow.

Field-officer for fatigue, Lieut.-Colonel Parker.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Woodbridge.

Otherwise as usual.

May 12th.

Parole, "BOLTON"; countersign, "HARVARD."

Field-officer of the day, Colonel Ward.

Field-officers of the picket guard to-night, Colonel Doolittle, Major Butterick.

Field-officers for main guard to-morrow, Colonel W^m Henshaw, Major Brooks.

Field-officer for fatigue, Colonel Gerish.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Montague.

Otherwise as usual.

May 13th.

Parole, "BROOKFIELD"; countersign, "DUDLEY."

Officer of the day, Colonel Patterson.

Field-officers for the picket guard to-night, Lieut.-Colonel Brickett, Major Stacy.

Field-officers for main guard to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Clark, Major Woods.

For fatigue, Lieut.-Colonel Holden.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Fox.

Otherwise as usual.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That Captain Isaac Foster be permitted to carry provisions into Charlestown for the benefit of such persons only who have moved out of Boston and are going into the country, and our friends in said town.

That no person excepting the said Isaac Foster be permitted to pass the guard with provisions, till further order.

May 14th.

Parole, "HARDWICK"; countersign, "PETERSHAM."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Woodbridge.

Field-officer for the picket guard to-night, Lieut.-Colonel Robertson.

Field-officer for main guard to-morrow, Major Baldwin.

For fatigue, Lieut.-Colonel Holden for to-morrow instead of to-day.

Adjutant of the day, ———.

Otherwise as usual.

May 15th.

Parole, "BILLERICA"; countersign, "CHELMSFORD."
Officer for the day, to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Joseph Henshaw.
Field-officer for the picket guard to-night, Major Bigelow.
Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow, Colonel W^m Prescott.
Officer for fatigue to-morrow, Colonel Porter.
Adjutant of the day, ———.
Otherwise as usual.

May 16th.

Parole, "NORTHAMPTON"; countersign, "HADLEY."*
Field-officer for picket guard to-night, Colonel Ward.
Field-officer for main guard to-morrow, Colonel Doolittle.
Field-officer for fatigue, Colonel Peirce for to-morrow.
Adjutant for the day, ———.
Otherwise as usual.

May 17th.

Parole, "TICONDEROGA"; countersign, "CROWN POINT."
Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Parker.
Field-officer for picket guard to-night, Colonel Clark.
Field-officer for main guard to-morrow morning, Major Moore.
Field-officer for fatigue to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Patterson.
Adjutant of the day, ———.
Otherwise as usual.

May 18th.

Parole, "EASTON"; countersign, "ARNOLD."†
Officer of the day, Lieut.-Colonel Robertson, for to-morrow.
Field-officer for the picket guard to-night, Colonel Woodbridge.
Field-officer for main guard to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Holden.
For fatigue, Major Baldwin.
Adjutant of the day, ———.
Otherwise as usual.

May 19th.

Parole, "ETHAN"; countersign ["ALLEN"].‡
Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel W^m Henshaw.
Field-officer for the picket guard to-night, Colonel Bond.
Field-officer for main guard to-morrow morning, Colonel Whitney.
Field-officer for fatigue, Colonel Scammons.
Adjutant of the day, ———.
Otherwise as usual.

* In Fenno's Orderly Book "Hadley" is given as the parole, and "Northampton" as the countersign. — Eds.

† In Fenno's Orderly Book "Arnold" is given as the parole, and "Easton" as the countersign. — Eds.

‡ Supplied from Fenno's Orderly Book. — Eds.

GENERAL ORDERS.—That Colonel W^m Henshaw be discharged from any further service in camp, and have leave to return home; the Colonel having requested of the General this liberty.

May 20th.

Parole, "ATHOL"; countersign, "WARWICK."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Doolittle.

Field-officer for the picket guard to-night, Lieut.-Colonel Bond.

Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow, Colonel Nixon.

Field-officer for fatigue, Colonel Ward.

Adjutant for the day, ———.

Otherwise as usual.

GENERAL ORDERS.—That no person presume to fire upon the armed schooner* in the river, from Lechmore's Point.

That the sentry placed at the bridge permit no person to pass on to Lechmore's Point, without an express order from head-quarters, till further orders.

May 21st.

Parole, "GROTON"; countersign, "PEPPERELL."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Joseph Henshaw.

Field-officer for the picket guard to-night, Major Bigilow.

Field-officer for main guard to-morrow, Colonel Bridge.

Officer for fatigue, ———.

Adjutant of the day, ———.

May 22d.

Parole, "SHREWSBURY"; countersign, "WORCESTER."

Officer of the day, Lieut.-Colonel Clark, for to-morrow.

Field-officer for the picket guard to-night, Major Bigilow.

Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Paterson.

Officer for fatigue, Major Moore.

Adjutant of the day, ———.

May 23d.

GENERAL ORDERS.—That the officers of the train of artillery may enlist persons from any regiment in camp, in order to complete the train as soon as possible; and the commanding officer of each regiment and company is ordered to permit four men, and no more, from each company to enlist voluntarily into the train,—the commissions, by a resolve of Congress, to be made out to the several captains of companies, notwithstanding the four men enlisted out of their respective companies; but the companies are to be filled up as soon as possible, afterwards.

Parole, "MARLBOROUGH"; countersign, "NORTHBOROUGH."

Officer for the day, to-morrow, Colonel Gardiner.

* Fenno's Orderly Book has "sloop" instead of "schooner."—EDS.

Field-officer for the picket to-night, Major Baldwin.

Officer for the main guard to-morrow morning, Lieut.-Colonel Witney.

Field-officer for fatigue, Major Cady.

Adjutant for the day, ——— Hunt.

May 24th.

Parole, "SUDBURY"; countersign, "FRAMINGHAM."

Officer for the day, to-morrow, Colonel Gerrish.

Field-officer for the picket to-night, Major Wood.

Field-officer for main guard to-morrow morning, Lieut.-Colonel Holden.

Officer for fatigue, Lieut.-Colonel Clark, for to-morrow.

Adjutant for the day, ——— Febiger.

May 25th.

Parole, "MENDON"; countersign, "UPTON."

Officer of the day, Colonel Mansfield.

Field-officer for the picket to-night, Major Sawyer.

Field-officer for main guard to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Robinson.

Field-officer for fatigue, Major Bigelow.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Putnam.

May 26th.

Parole, "CONCORD"; countersign, "STOW."

Officer of the day, Colonel Woodbridge.

Field-officer for the picket to-night, Major Jackson.

Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Clark.

Field-officer for fatigue, Colonel Cady.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Montague.

May 27th.

Parole, "MEDFORD"; countersign, "CHELSEA."

Officer for the day, to-morrow, Colonel Patterson.

Field-officer for the picket to-night, Major Brooks.

Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Bond.

Field-officer for the fatigue, Colonel Ward.

Adjutant for the day, ——— Warner.

May 28th.

Parole, "MALDEN"; countersign, "DELIVERANCE."

Officer of the day, to-morrow, Colonel W^m Prescott.

Field-officer for the picket to night, Major Stacy.

Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Hutchinson.

Field officer for the fatigue, Major Putnam.

Adjutant of the day, ———.

May 28th.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That Colonel Doolittle march with four hundred men to Chelsea, and relieve Colonel Nixon and his party, with the other troops that went from this camp; and he is to conduct in such manner as he may judge will most contribute to the general safety. If the cannon which are in the schooner which was taken yesterday can be secured without too much exposing the troops, he may bring them off; or otherways conduct, as his best judgment shall direct.*

May 29th.

Parole, "BOSTON"; countersign, "ROXBURY."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Gardiner.

Field-officer for the picket guard to-night, Major Buttrick.

Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow, Colonel Robertson.

For fatigue, Major Wood.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Hunt.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That the party for fatigue be paraded in the morning, so as to attend prayers, and, as soon as prayers are ended, to march directly to the place of fatigue, and work until eleven o'clock; then return, and rest till two o'clock, and work from that time till six o'clock.

May 30th.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That Major Alden deliver the brass field-piece in his possession to Mr. Dimon Morton, of the train of artillery, for the use of the army.

Parole, "DEDHAM"; countersign, "MEDFIELD."

Officer of the day, Colonel Bridge.

Field-officer for the picket guard to-night, Major Jackson.

Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow morning, Lieut.-Colonel Reed.

Officer for fatigue to-morrow, Major Sawyer.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Fox.

May 31st.

Parole, "SALEM"; countersign, "DANVERS."

Officer of the day, Colonel Scammons.

Field-officer of the picket guard to-night, Major Brooks.

Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow morning, Lieut.-Colonel Holden.

Officer for fatigue, Major Baldwin.

Adjutant for the day, ——— Masden.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That the stock which was taken from Nodde's Island, belonging to Mr. Henry Howell Williams, be delivered

* Fenno's Orderly Book has, "the remains of the schooner which was burnt on Winnisimitt Ferry." — Eds.

to his father, Colonel Joseph Williams, of Roxbury, for the use of said Henry H. Williams.

June 1st.

Parole, "IPSWICH"; countersign, "NEWBURY."

Officer of the day, Colonel Nixen, for to-morrow.

Field-officer of the picket guard to-night, Major Woods.

Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow morning, Lieut.-Colonel Hutchinson.

Field-officer for fatigue to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Robertson.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Nixon.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That the commanding officer of each regiment, detachment, or company, daily visit his soldiers, whether in barracks or tents, and oblige them to keep themselves clean. The officers who do not strictly adhere to this order are to be reported to head-quarters, and the soldiers that disobey the officers' orders in this respect are to be confined at the main guard until they shall receive some punishment adequate to a crime so heinous. That the officers oblige them to keep the parade clean, and bury the filth.

June 2d.

Parole, "NEWBURY"; countersign, "PORT."

Officer for the day, to-morrow, Colonel Gerrish.

Field-officer for the picket to-night, Major Wood.

Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Moulton.

Field-officer for fatigue, Lieut.-Colonel Parker.

Adjutant for the day, ——— Febiger.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That all such persons who have horses in camp that were taken from Hog Island and Noddle's Island return them immediately to head-quarters, excepting such horses as the owners have had general orders to take.

June 3d.

Parole, "MARBLEHEAD"; countersign, "LYNN."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Mansfeild.

Field-officer for the picket to-night, Major Stacy.

Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Bond.

Field-officer for fatigue to-morrow, ———.

Adjutant of the day, ———.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That the commanding officer of each regiment, company, or detachment, oblige all that are off of duty, under his command, to be paraded at four o'clock in the afternoon, and be ready to attend the whipping of two persons for stealing, at five o'clock, P.M.

June 4th.

Parole, "BEVERLY"; countersign, "ROWLEY."

Field-officer for the day, to-morrow, Colonel Woodbridge.

Field-officer for the picket to-night, Major Butterick.

Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow morning, Lieut.-Colonel Clark.

For fatigue to-morrow, Mezin Putnam.

Adjutant for the day, ——— Montague.

June 5th.

Parole, "SALISBURY"; countersign, "HAVERHILL."

Officer for the day, Colonel Patterson.

Field-officer for the picket to-night, Major Poor.

Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Whitney.

Field-officer for fatigue, Major Jackson.

Adjutant for the day, to-morrow, Colonel Patterson.

June 6th.

Parole, "GLOUCESTER"; countersign, "TOPSFIELD."

Officer for the day, to-morrow, Colonel W^m Prescott.

Field-officer for the picket to-night, Major Putnam.

Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Stowers.

Field-officer for fatigue to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Robison.

Adjutant of the day, Colonel Prescott.

June 7th.

Parole, "SPRINGFIELD"; countersign, "NORTHAMPTON."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Gardiner.

Field-officer for the picket to-night, Major Durkee.

Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Hutchinson.

Field-officer for fatigue for to-morrow, Major Baldwin.

Adjutant of the day for to-morrow, ——— Hunt.

June 8th.

Parole, "SHELburne"; countersign, "CONWAY."

Officer for the day, to-morrow, Colonel Scammons.

Field-officer for the picket to-night, Major Brooks.

Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Moulton.

Field-officer for fatigue to-morrow, Major Stacy.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Masden.

June 9th.

Parole, "SUNDERLAND"; countersign, "MONTAGUE."

Officer for the day, to-morrow, Colonel Nixen.

Field-officer for the picket to-night, Major Woods.

Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Bond.

Field-officer for fatigue, Major Wood.

Adjutant of the day for to-morrow, [from] Colonel Nixen's regiment.

June 10th.

Parole, "NORTHFIELD"; countersign, "BRIMFIELD."

Officer for the day, to-morrow, Colonel Gerrish.

Field-officer for the picket to-night, Major Butterick.

Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Brickett.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Febiger.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That the commanding officer of the picket guard be particularly careful that no damage be done to the meeting-house, as he must be accountable for it himself. This order to be handed to the next officer that relieves, and so on. The meeting-house and parade round it to be kept clean.

June 11th.

Parole, "GLYN"; countersign, "WILKS."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Mansfield.

Field-officer for the picket to-night, Major Putnam.

Field-officer for main guard to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Clark.

Field-officer for fatigue to-morrow, Major Poor.

Adjutant for the day, ——— Putnam.

June 12th.

Parole, "YORK"; countersign, "KITTELY."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Woodbridge.

Field officer for the picket to-night, Major Wood.

Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Parker.

Officer for fatigue to-morrow, ———.

Adjutant for the day, ——— Montague.

June 13th.

Parole, "WOBURN"; countersign, "CONCORD."

Officer of the day, to-morrow, Colonel W^m Prescott.

Field-officer for the picket to-night, Major Stacy.

Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Robinson.

Officer for fatigue to-morrow, ———.

Adjutant for the day, ——— Hardy.

Head-quarters, June 13, 1775.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That a general court-martial be held this day, at nine o'clock, at the school-house, to try such persons as shall be brought before them.

Colonel Fry, *President*.

MEMBERS.

Captains.

Coit.

Bancroft.

Francis.

Newell.

Gleason.

Butler.

Lieutenants.

Foster.

Hide.

Hunting.

Kyes.

Goodnow.

Porter.

Joseph Trumball, Esq., *Judge Advocate*.

All evidences to attend.

June 14th.

Parole, "WELLS"; countersign, "BERWICK."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Gardener.

Field-officer of the picket to-night, Major Jackson.

Field-officer of the main guard to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Storrs.

Officer for fatigue to-morrow, ———.

Adjutant for the day, to-morrow, ——— Hunt.

Head-quarters, June 14th.

GENERAL ORDERS.—That each colonel of a regiment take and keep a list of his men, their names, when enlisted, place of residence, age, stature, and complexion, and order the roll to be called every morning and evening. All officers see that all tumults and disorders in camp be suppressed, that all soldiers repair to their barracks and tents immediately after beating the tattoo, on penalty of being confined; and that there be no noise in the camp after nine o'clock at night. That the field-officers of the day take special care to suppress all grog-shops; and, if the owners of them continue to sell liquors to the soldiers, he is ordered to stave all their liquors. All officers see that their men attend upon prayers morning and evening, and also the service on Lord's day, with their arms and accoutrements, ready to march in case of an alarm. That no drum beat after the chaplain is on the stage, and the men immediately attend. The commanding officer of each regiment see that the arms and ammunition be viewed daily, and that none be wasted, and that every regiment keep a quarter guard. That the arms and ammunition of the picket guard be examined by the commanding officer of the picket before they go upon duty.

June 15th.

Parole, "TAUNTON"; countersign, "REHOBOTH."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Scammons.

Field-officer of the picket to-night, Major Durkee.

Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Nixon.

Officer for fatigue to-morrow, ———.

Adjutant for the day, to-morrow, ——— Marsden.

GENERAL ORDERS.—That the commanding officer of the picket guard never leave his post by night nor by day, not more than half an hour at a time, leaving directions with the next commanding officer where to find him. Not more than ten of the picket be allowed to [be] off their post at a time, by night or by day. That the second in command never leave his post when the first is absent. These orders to be delivered to the next commanding officer, and so on from time to time.

That Samuel Murray be removed from the jail in Worcester, to his father's homestead farm in Rutland, the limits of which he is not to pass until further orders; and all persons are hereby strictly forbidden to offer any violence to said Murray while he continues in the peace of God within these limits.

June 16th.

Parole, "LEBANON"; countersign, "COVENTRY."

Field-officer of the day, to-morrow, Colonel Nixon.

Field-officer for the picket to-night, Major Butterick.

Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow morning, Lieut.-Colonel Hutchinson.

Adjutant of the day, to-morrow, ———.*

Head-quarters, Cambridge, June 17th, 1775.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That General Thomas immediately send the following ordnance: viz., one 18 and one 24 pounder, with proper ordnance stores, to the camp at Cambridge, and proper conductors for the same, if they can well be spared from Roxbury camp.

June 17th, 1775.

Parole, "DEERFIELD"; countersign, "CONWAY."

Field-officer of the day, to-morrow, Colonel Gerrish.

Field-officer for the picket to-night, Colonel Wood.

Field-officer for the main guard to-morrow morning, Lieut.-Colonel Baldwin.

Adjutant of the day, to-morrow, ——— Febiger.†

* Chester's Orderly Book (Proceedings of Mass. Hist. Soc., June, 1875) has Brooks instead of Butterick, and names Holden as "adjutant of the day, to-morrow." Fenno's Orderly Book does not contain the names of the field-officers and adjutant; but it adds: "Frye's, Bridge's, and Wm. Prescott's regiments to parade this evening, at six o'clock, with all the entrenching tools in this encampment." — Eds.

† In Fenno's Orderly Book, which was apparently not written out from day to day, but was prepared at a later date, either from the original orders or from memoranda taken at the time, the following account of the battle of Bunker Hill is inserted, between the 17th and 18th of June: "The three regiments above-mentioned, having received orders about ten o'clock of the evening 16th instant, began to entrench on Breed's Hill, directly opposite Cope's Hill in Boston. By daylight they had thrown up a small fort and part of the lines of circumvallation. About four o'clock in the morning of the 17th, the Lively, which lay in Charlestown Ferry, having put a spring on her cable, began to fire on our people. Some time after they fired also from Cope's Hill, where was a battery of seven or eight battering cannon. As the tide rose, about ten o'clock, three or four floating batteries began to play on the above entrenchment. Between twelve and two o'clock two thousand men landed on a point north-east of the entrenchment, and immediately began to cannonade the same; so that at this period the fire of three ships, three batteries, several field-pieces, the battery on Cope's Hill, from six different directions, all centred on the above incomplete breastwork. No relief or reinforcement having arrived, about nine hundred men of the above three regiments alone maintained the ground till about three o'clock, when, being overpowered by numbers, they were obliged to retreat. The Provincials lost about one hundred and thirty men in this engagement, and had about three hundred wounded. From a very intelligent regular who was in the above engagement, and who afterwards deserted, I had a list of the killed and wounded of the Regulars, which account General Gage transmitted to England, and was as follows: —

"Account of the killed and wounded of the ministerial army in the engagement at Charlestown, June 17, 1775.

Field-officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Privates.	
4	9	13	15	1	191	killed.
2	25	39	40	12	706	wounded.

"Total, 1057 killed and wounded." — Eds.

Sunday, June 18th.

Parole, "MALDEN"; countersign, "WESTON."

Field-officer of the day, to-morrow, Colonel Mansfield.

Field-officer of the picket to-night, Major Poor.

Field-officer of the main guard to-morrow morning, Lieut.-Colonel Bond.

Adjutant of the day, to-morrow, ——— Putnam.

June 19th.

GENERAL ORDERS.—That Captain David Mason * repair to the several entrenchments, to direct, inspect, and oversee the artillery and military stores throughout the lines, and see that they are in proper order.

That an adjutant furnish a subaltern and twenty men without arms to attend the committee of Congress, at the commissary's office, and there assist in loading and unloading provisions, and in other labor.

Parole, "SCARBOROUGH"; countersign, "BRUNSWICK."

Officer of the day, to-morrow, Colonel Woodbridge.

Officer for the picket to-night, Major Stacy.

Officer of the main guard to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Brickett.

Adjutant of the day, to-morrow, ——— Montague.

GENERAL ORDERS.—That Colonel Ward and Colonel Whitcomb furnish one company between both their regiments to be taken from No. 2, and send them to Mrs. Inman's, to be relieved by said regiments from day to day till further orders; also furnish Captain Homans with a sergeant and fifteen privates every evening.

June 20th.

GENERAL ORDERS.—That Sergeant Green and John Rotch take the command of the guard at the small-pox hospital, near Fresh Pond, and keep a sentry at the gate, who is to permit no person to go in or out, except the doctor, and such as the doctor shall permit to pass; and that a very strict guard be constantly kept at said hospital.

Parole, "HARPSWELL"; countersign, "WINDHAM."

Officer of the day, to-morrow, Colonel Fry.

Officer of the picket to-night, ———.

Officer of the main guard to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Brown.

Adjutant of the day, to-morrow, ——— Hardy.

June 21st.

Parole, "POMFRET"; countersign, "BRISTOL."

Officer of the day, to-morrow, Colonel W^m Prescott.

Officer of the picket to-night, Major Jackson.

Officer for the main guard to-morrow, Colonel Baldwin.

Adjutant of the day, to-morrow, Colonel Prescott.

* In Fenno's Orderly Book he is called "Major Mason"; but he did not receive his commission as major until June 21st. See Frothingham's "History of the Siege of Boston," p. 184. — Eds.

GENERAL ORDERS.—That the commanding officer of each regiment, detachment, and company make a complete return of the numbers in their respective regiments, detachments, and companies fit for duty, absent on furlough, deserted, sick, killed, and wounded in the late engagement, and missing upon account thereof.

That each colonel appoint a regimental court-martial to try prisoners belonging to their respective regiments, for errors that are not capital.

That one-half of Colonels Brewer's, Nixon's, Scammons's, Little's, Gerrish's, Gardiner's, Woodbridge's, [and] Mansfield's regiments be drafted every day to relieve the party upon Prospect Hill; the said party be paraded and ready to march by seven o'clock in the morning, till further orders.

June 22d.

Parole, "LANGDON"; countersign, "APPLETON."

Officer for the day for to-morrow, Colonel Scammons.

Officer for the picket to-night, Colonel Glover.

Officer for the main guard to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Nixon.

Adjutant for the day, to-morrow, ——— Marsden.

GENERAL ORDERS.—That all such persons as may have in their possession guns, packs, clothing, and any other article whatever that fell into their hands, at and since the time of the engagement upon Bunker's Hill, the owners of which are unknown, immediately return them to head-quarters.

June 23d.

Parole, "LYMAN"; countersign, "HOPKINS."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Glover.

Officer of the picket to-night, [from] Colonel Glover's regiment.

Officer of the main guard to-morrow, Major Brooks.

Adjutant of the day, to-morrow, Colonel Glover.

GENERAL ORDERS.—That Colonels Brewer, Nixon, Little, Scammon, Gerrish, Gardiner, Woodbridge, [and] Mansfield's regiments encamp on or near Prospect Hill; the officers of said regiments not to desert their posts upon any consideration whatever, and use their utmost endeavors to prevent the soldiers doing the same.

June 24th. Head-quarters, Cambridge.

Parole, "TROWBRIDGE"; countersign, "WALTER."

Officer of the day, to-morrow, Colonel Bridge.

Officer of the picket to-night, Captain ———.

Officer of the main guard, Lieut.-Colonel Storrs.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Fox.

General orders his thanks to be given to those officers and soldiers who behaved so very gallantly in the late action at Charlestown. Such bravery gives the General sensible pleasure, he being thereby fully satisfied that we shall finally come off victorious, and triumph over the enemies of freedom and America.

Sunday, June 25th.

Parole, "HALLEY"; countersign, "FREEMAN."

Officer of the day, to-morrow, Colonel Fry.

Officer of the main guard, Lieut.-Colonel Robinson.

Adjutant of the day, —— Hardy.

June 26th.

Parole, "SWANSEY"; countersign, "DARTMOUTH."

Officer of the day, to-morrow, Colonel Prescott.

Officer of the main guard, Major Johannot.

Adjutant of the day, —— Green.

Head-quarters, June 27th, 1775, Cambridge.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That a general court-martial be held this day at the lines, to try Captain Callender, of the train of artillery. Evidences on both sides be duly ordered to attend said court, which is to sit at eight o'clock, A.M.

Colonel Little, *President.*

Captains.

Crofts.*

Gerrish.

Hill.

Perkins.

Popkins.

Tyler.

Captains.

Baker.

Barnet.

Cogswell.

Williams.

Noble.

Dodge.

Captain Mosely, *Judge Advocate.*

June 27th.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That the commanding officer at Prospect Hill keep a main guard, and appoint an officer for the day.

The field-officers are ordered to see that their respective regiments (so many of them as are off of duty) be paraded daily at ten o'clock in the morning, and at four o'clock in the afternoon. The field-officers are enjoined to discipline those that parade two hours in the forenoon and two in the afternoon, and see that a list of their names be called over daily; when paraded in the morning, to prevent their strolling about in the fields and leaving the camp. When paraded in the afternoon, the field-officers are daily to view the arms of their respective regiments, and see what number of rounds each man has, to prevent their waiting, contrary to orders. The commanding officer is to order every night, visiting rounds, and a patrol sentry, whose business it shall be to see that the sentries are all alert upon their posts; and such as are found sleeping or sitting upon their posts are to be confined for trial. The field-officers are not to leave their posts upon any consideration, without leave from the commanding officer.

* In Fenno's Orderly Book the name is "Craft," probably Abner Craft of Colonel Gardner's regiment. (See *ante*, p. 80.) Fenno gives "Prescot" as the parole, and "Dana" as the countersign, for June 27th. — EDS.

June 28th.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That Lieut.-Colonel Bond occupy one room, in the south-east corner of Colonel Vassall's house, upon the second floor, for the sick belonging to said regiment,* till a convenient place can be procured elsewhere for the above-said purpose.

Parole, "WORCESTER"; countersign, "BROOKFIELD."

Officer for the day, to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Brickett.

Officer for the main guard, Major Poor.

Adjutant for the day, ——— Fox.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That Edward Previor assist in baking, till further orders.

June 29th.

Parole, "WASHINGTON"; countersign, "VIRGINIA."

Officer of the day, to-morrow, Colonel Gerry.

Officer of the main guard, Major Brooks.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Hardy.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That the regiments in this encampment parade to-morrow morning at five o'clock, on the common, where the prisoners will be brought from the main guard, and the sentence of the general court-martial will be put in execution against them.

The officers commanding companies will take care that the men in their respective companies turn out immediately when called upon for duty.

The adjutants will take care to bring the men upon the place of parade for guards and other duty, precisely by the time prefixed by the Adjutant-General.

June 30th. Head-quarters.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That all profane cursing and swearing, all indecent language and behavior, will not be tolerated in camps. The General expects that all the officers, from the highest to the lowest rank, set a good example to the soldiers in this respect.

That three subalterns be appointed daily to visit the colleges at nine o'clock in the morning, and see that they are daily swept clean; and that the officers improving dwelling-houses take care that those soldiers who are quartered in the same see that they are daily swept.

That the field-officers at Cambridge, Charlestown, and Medford see that the adjutants make a list of the names of all the officers of rank and file belonging to their respective regiments, and make a return immediately to the Adjutant-General.

That all possible care be taken that no lewd women come into the camp; and all persons are ordered to give information of such persons, if any there be, that proper measures be taken to bring them to condign punishment, and rid the camp of all such nuisances.

That the rules and regulations for the American army be read at

* Fenno's Orderly Book has, "belonging to Colonel Gardner's regiment."
—EDS.

the head of the respective companies by the captains, or such other person as they shall appoint, once a week, till further orders. *

June 30th.

Parole, "PENNSYLVANIA"; countersign, "JAMAICA."

Officer for the day, to-morrow, Colonel Prescott.

Officer of the main guard, Lieut.-Colonel Robinson.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Gibbs.

July 1st.

Parole, "BOWDOIN"; countersign, "DEXTER."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Glover.

Officer of the main guard, Major Johannot.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Fox.

CAMP AT CAMBRIDGE, July 1st.

That the adjutants of the respective regiments doing duty at Cambridge, Charlestown, and Medford make a weekly return to the Adjutant-General at head-quarters of the number of officers, and rank and file fit for duty, number unfit, where stationed, what number on duty daily, what duty, whether in camp, out on furlough, or absent without leave.

That the drummers in this encampment attend upon Mr. John Bassett, drum-major, at seven o'clock to-morrow morning, and receive their orders from him respecting their duty.

July 2d.

Parole, "PITTS"; countersign, "BRADBURY."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Brickett.

Officer of the main guard, Major Woods.

Adjutant for the day, ——— Hardy.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That some suitable person in each company in the several regiments be directed to inspect said company daily; that, upon finding any complaints of indisposition among the men, the surgeon of each regiment will examine thereinto, and, if there be any symptoms of the small-pox upon them, that they be immediately removed.

That one soldier be taken out of each company in Putnam's, Prescott's, Bridge's, Fry's, and Glover's regiments, for camp color-men, whose daily business shall be to sweep and keep clean the camp.

Head-quarters at Cambridge, July 3d.

Parole, "LOOK OUT"; countersign, "SHARP."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Bridge.

Officer of the main guard, Major Poor.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Gibbs.

* In Fenno's Orderly Book the army is called "the Massachusetts army," and it is stated that the rules and regulations are to be read "at least once a fortnight." — Eds.

Head-quarters at Cambridge, July 3d, 1775.

By his Excellency George Washington, Esq., Commander-in-chief of the Forces of the United Colonies of North America, —

The colonel or commanding officer of each regiment is ordered forthwith to make two returns of the number of men in their respective regiments, distinguishing those who are sick, wounded, or absent on furlough, and also the quantity of ammunition each regiment now has.

AFTER ORDERS. — Four o'clock, P.M. By his Excellency General Washington. —

It is ordered, that Colonel Glover's regiment be ready this evening, with all their accoutrements, to march at a minute's warning to support General Folsom of the New Hampshire forces, in case his line should be attacked.

It is also ordered, that Colonel Prescott's regiment equip themselves, march this evening, and take possession of the woods leading to Lechmore's Point, and in case of an attack, then Colonel Glover's regiment to march immediately to their support.

Head-quarters, July 4th.

Parole, "ABINGTON"; countersign, "BEDFORD."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Prescott.

Officer of the main guard, Major Brooks.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Fox.

July 4th.

GENERAL ORDERS. — 1. Exact returns to be made by the proper officers of all the provisions, ordnance, ordnance stores, powder, lead, working-tools of all kinds, tents, camp-kettles, and all other stores under their respective care, belonging to the armies at Cambridge and Roxbury. The commanding officer of each regiment to make a return of the number of blankets wanted to complete every man with one, at least.

2. The Hon. Artemas Ward, Charles Lee, Philip Schuyler, and Israel Putnam, Esqs., are appointed majors-general in the American army, by the honorable Continental Congress, and due obedience is to be paid them as such. The Continental Congress not having completed the appointments of the other officers in said army, nor had sufficient time to prepare and forward their commissions, every officer is to continue to do duty in the rank and station he at present holds, until further orders.

3. Thomas Mifflin, Esq., is appointed by the General one of his aides-de-camp; Joseph Reed, Esq., is in like manner appointed secretary to the General; and they are in future to be considered and regarded as such.

4. The Continental Congress having now taken all the troops of the several colonies, which have been raised or which may be hereafter raised, for the support and defence of the liberties of America, into their pay and service, they are now the troops of the United Provinces

of North America, and it is hoped that all distinction of colonies will be laid aside, so that one and the same spirit may animate the whole, and the only contest be, who shall render on this great and trying occasion the most essential service to the great and common cause in which we are all engaged.

5. It is required and expected that exact discipline be observed and due subordination prevail through the whole army, as a failure in these essential points must necessarily produce extreme hazard, disorder, and confusion, and end in shameful disappointment and disgrace.

6. The General most earnestly requires and expects a due observance of those articles of war established for the government of the army which forbid profane cursing and swearing, and drunkenness; and in like manner requires and expects of all officers and soldiers not engaged in actual duty a punctual attendance on divine service, to implore the blessing of Heaven upon the means used for our safety and defence.

7. All officers are expected and required to pay diligent attention to keep their men neat and clean; to visit them often at their quarters, and inculcate upon them the necessity of it, as essential to their health and service; they are particularly to see they have straw to lie on, if to be had, and to make it known if they are destitute of this article. They are also to take care that necessaries are provided in the camps, and frequently filled up, to prevent being offensive and unhealthy. Proper notice will be taken of such officers and men as shall distinguish themselves by a due attention to these necessary duties.

8. The commanding officer of each regiment is to take particular care that not more than two men of a company be absent on furlough at the same time, unless in very extraordinary cases.

9. Colonel Gardiner* is to be buried at three o'clock, P.M., with the military honors due to so brave and gallant an officer, who fought, bled, and died in the cause of his country and mankind. His own regiment, except the company at Malden, to attend on this mournful occasion. The places of those companies on the lines on Prospect Hill to be supplied by Colonel Glover's regiment till the funeral is over.

10. No person whatever is allowed to go to Fresh Water Pond a-fishing, or on any other occasion, as there may be danger of introducing the small-pox into the army.

11. It is strictly required and commanded that there be no firing of cannon or small arms from any of the lines, or elsewhere, except in case of necessary immediate defence, or special order given for that purpose.

12. All persons taken, deserters coming in, persons coming out of Boston, who can give any intelligence, any captures of any kind from the enemy, are to be immediately reported, and brought up to headquarters at Cambridge.

* Colonel Thomas Gardner, of Cambridge, was wounded in the battle of Bunker Hill, and died on the 3d of July. See Frothingham's "History of the Siege of Boston," pp. 151, 179, 180. — Eds.

13. Captain Griffin is appointed aide-de-camp to General Lee, and to be regarded as such.

14. The guard for the security of the stores at Watertown to be increased to thirty men immediately.

15. A sergeant and six men are to be set as a guard to the hospital, and are to apply to Dr. Rand.

16. Complaint being made against John White, quartermaster of Colonel Nixon's regiment, for misdemeanors in drawing provisions for more men than the regiment consisted of, and for abusive behavior, a court-martial, consisting of a captain and four subalterns, is ordered to be held on said White, at nine o'clock to-morrow morning, who are to make due inquiry, determine, and report.

Head-quarters, Cambridge, July 5th, 1775.

By his Excellency General Washington.

Parole, "BEDFORD"; countersign, "CAMBRIDGE."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Glover.

Officer of the main guard, Lieut.-Colonel Robinson.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Hardy.

GENERAL ORDERS. — 1. The adjutant of each regiment is required to take special care that all general orders are communicated as well to the private men as to the officers, that there may be no plea of ignorance. They will be deemed answerable for all consequences which may follow from a neglect of this order.

2. A general court-martial is ordered to sit to-morrow, at ten o'clock, A.M., for the trial of William Patten, charged with leaving his post while on guard; David Wells and Gideon Cole, for sleeping on their posts as sentinels; John Scott, for insulting the sentry, and attempting to pass the guard at Boston; and James Foster, for theft; when the witnesses are to attend, and the parties charged are to have notice this day that they may be prepared for their trials.

3. The General most earnestly recommends and requires of all the officers, that they be exceeding diligent and strict in preventing all invasion and abuse of private property in their quarters or elsewhere. He hopes, and indeed flatters himself, that every private soldier will abhor and detest such practices, when he considers that it is for his own rights, liberty, and property, and those of his fellow-countrymen, that he is now called into service; that it is unmanly, and sullies the dignity of the great cause in which we are all engaged, to violate that property he is called to protect; and especially that it is most cruel and inconsistent thus to add to the distresses of those of their countrymen who are suffering under the iron hand of oppression.

4. The General again urges a speedy and exact return of the forces, stores, provisions, &c., as desired in the order already issued; and for the future, these returns to be made once a week, on Saturday morning regularly. The General is much pleased with the expedition and care which some officers have already shown in their obedience to this order.

5. The colonel or commanding officer of each regiment is to direct

an officer of each company to call over the rolls of their men at six o'clock every morning, and to make proper inquiry after the absentees.

N. B. — W^m Patten and David Wells belong to Captain Gridley's company, and Colonel Gridley's regiment.

Gideon Cole belongs to Captain Chester's company, in General Putnam's regiment.

John Scott belongs to Captain Aloney's company, Colonel ——'s regiment.*

James Foster belongs to Captain Butler's company, Colonel Nixon's regiment.

Thursday, July 6th, 1775. Head-quarters, Cambridge.

Parole, "CUMBERLAND"; countersign, "DARBY."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Bricket.

Officer for the main guard, Major Johannot.

Adjutant of the day, —— Gibbs.

GENERAL ORDERS. — 1. A general court-martial is ordered to sit to-morrow, at ten o'clock, A.M., for the trial of John Seymore, John Batchelor, and W^m Croston,† all of Colonel Gridley's regiment, charged with desertion and theft; at the same time, they are to hear and determine the case of Thomas Dunley, a stroller, accused of theft. Notice to be given to the prisoners to-day.

2. Captain Leonard, of Colonel Woodbridge's regiment, and the remainder of his company, are ordered to join the guard at Watertown.

3. The clothing provided by the Massachusetts committee of supplies, for those men of their government who lost their clothes at the late action at Bunker's Hill, to be distributed to the most needy and necessitous men of each regiment, and an account to be kept thereof by the commanding officer of each regiment.

Cambridge, Head-quarters, July 7th, 1775.

GENERAL ORDERS. — By his Excellency General Washington.

Parole, "DORCHESTER"; countersign, "EXETER."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Bridge.

Officer of the main guard, Major Woods.

Adjutant of the day, —— Fox.

1. It is with inexpressible concern that the General, upon his first arrival in the army, should find an officer sentenced by a general court-martial to be cashiered for cowardice, — a crime of all others the most infamous in a soldier, the most injurious to an army, and the last to be forgiven, inasmuch as it may, and often does, happen that the cowardice of a single officer may prove the destruction of the whole army. The General therefore, though with great concern (and more especially as the transaction happened before he had the command of the troops), thinks himself obliged, for the good of the service, to approve

* In Fenno's Orderly Book the name of the captain is given as "Money." Both Henshaw and Fenno leave a blank for the name of the colonel. — Eds.

† In Fenno's Orderly Book the name is "Curston." — Eds.

the judgment of the court-martial with respect to Captain John Callender, who is hereby sentenced to be cashiered. Captain John Callender is accordingly cashiered, and dismissed from all further service in the Continental Army, as an officer.

The General, having made all due inquiries, and maturely considered this matter, is led to the above determination, not only from the particular guilt of Captain Callender, but the fatal consequences of such a conduct to the army, and to the cause of America. He now therefore most earnestly exhorts officers of all ranks to show an example of bravery and courage to their men, assuring them that such as do their duty in the day of battle as brave and good officers shall be honored with every mark of distinction and regard, their names and merits made known to the General Congress, and all America; while, on the other hand, he most positively declares that every officer, be his rank what it may, who shall betray his country, dishonor the army and his General, by basely keeping back and shrinking from duty in any engagement, shall be held up as an infamous coward, and punished as such with the utmost martial severity; and no connections, interest, or intercessions in his behalf will avail to prevent the strict execution of justice.

2. Captain Scott's and Captain Styles's companies from New Hampshire are to be incorporated or added to Colonel Sergeant's regiment, agreeable to the application made for that purpose.

3. No officer or soldier posted in the lines, or for the defence of them, on Prospect Hill, or Winter Hill, or elsewhere, are upon any account to sleep out of their encampment, or leave it at nights. The troops raised in New Hampshire are particularly required to attend to this order, from their particular circumstances of situation.

4. No soldier belonging to those posts, or elsewhere, to be suffered to straggle at a distance from their respective parade, on any pretence, without leave from his officers, as an unguarded hour may prove fatal to the whole army, and to the noble cause in which we are engaged; the importance of which to every man of common understanding must inspire every good officer and soldier with the noblest ardor and strictest attention, lest he should prove the fatal instrument of our ruin.

5. The Adjutant-General is required to make a strict return, as quick as possible, of the troops in Cambridge, their numbers, and the duty they do.

6. Complaints having been made with respect to the bread, as being sour and unwholesome, the Quartermaster-General is hereby directed to inquire into the matter, and report upon it; at the same time, to inform the bakers that if any more complaints are made, and they shall be found just, they will be most severely punished.

7. The guards on the roads leading to Bunker's Hill are ordered not to suffer any person to pass them, unless an officer is sent down from the lines to order it, or they will be severely punished.

8. The General has great reason, and is highly displeased with the negligence and inattention of those officers who have placed as sentries at the outposts men with whose character they are not acquainted.

He therefore orders, that for the future no man shall be appointed to those important stations who is not a native of this country, or has a wife and family in it to whom he is known to be attached. This order is to be considered as a standing one, and the officers are to pay obedience to it, at their peril.

9. A complaint of the most extraordinary kind having been made to the General, that soldiers enlisted in one regiment have been seduced to re-enlist into others, by agents enlisted for that purpose, under the specious promise of money, or leave of absence from the army, — a procedure so subversive of all order and discipline, and of the very existence of the army, cannot be forgiven. The strictest orders are therefore given against such practices, and the General most earnestly declares, that if any agent or soldier shall hereafter be found so offending, he will punish them with the utmost severity.

10. A general court-martial having sat upon W^m Patten, and reported that no evidence appeared against him to support the charge, the General defers decision upon the report until further consideration. In the mean time, the Adjutant-General is ordered to wait on Colonel Ward, by whom the prisoner was confined, and learn from him upon whose complaint, and what witnesses there are to support it.

11. A regimental court-martial is ordered to sit to-morrow, ten o'clock, on Samuel Bartlett, of the company late Captain Callender's, and Colonel Gridley's regiment, confined for abusive behavior.

12. A general court-martial to sit to-morrow, ten o'clock, A.M., for the trial of Thomas Domily, charged with stealing. Each of the above prisoners to have notice to-day; and the witnesses in like manner ordered to attend.

13. In order that all the sick and wounded in the army may be provided for and taken care of in the best way and manner possible, it is ordered, that when any officer or soldier is so ill, either by a wound or otherwise, that the surgeon of the regiment to which he belongs finds he cannot be properly taken care of in such regiment, such surgeon shall send him to the camp hospital to which they belong, with a certificate, the man's name, the company and regiment to which he belongs, &c.; and, in that case, the surgeon of the hospital shall receive the said sick and wounded. And in case such hospital shall be too full, in that case the surgeon of said hospital shall send such of his patients as may be removed with safety to the hospital at Watertown, with the like certificate as above; on which the surgeon of Watertown hospital is to receive and take care of him.

Head-quarters, July 8th, 1775.

By his Excellency General Washington.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Parole, "ESSEX"; countersign, "FALKLAND."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Glover.

Officer of the main guard, Major Poor.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Hardy.

Ordered, 1. That the main guard on no account whatever be with-

out a drum, which is to beat to arms on any alarm, and followed by all the drums in the camp, on which every officer and soldier is to repair to the alarm post.

2. The commanding officer of each regiment or corps in Cambridge, as soon as the men are paraded after an alarm, to send an officer to head-quarters for orders.

3. The commanding officers at Roxbury, Prospect Hill, Winter Hill, and Sewall's Point to send expresses, in case of an alarm, to head-quarters, with an account of the situation and movements of the enemy. If they are not each provided with a horse for that purpose, the Adjutant-General to apply to the Committee of Supplies.

4. Colonel Gridley of the artillery, or the next in command, to give in a return of his men, stores, and ammunition, agreeable to the order of the 4th instant, and to distinguish the posts to which his regiment is assigned in case of alarm. The direction is given as to the return of men, ammunition, &c., to the commanding officer of the regiments late Colonel Gardiner's, of Colonel Glover's, and Colonel Gerrish's, who have omitted complying with the above order hitherto.

5. The commanding officers at Winter Hill, Prospect Hill, and Roxbury are to make particular inquiry into the ammunition of the men in those lines, and, if there is any deficiency, immediately to report it to the General at head-quarters.

6. A general court-martial is ordered to sit on Monday next, ten o'clock, for the trial of Lieutenant Brigham, charged with rescuing a person from lawful custody. The prisoner to have notice to-day.

Head-quarters, Cambridge, July 9th, 1775.

Parole, "EFFINGHAM"; countersign, "WATERTOWN."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Bricket.

Officer of the main guard, Major Brooks.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Gibbs.

The Continental Congress having been pleased to appoint Horatio Gates, Esq., brigadier-general and adjutant-general of the army, he is to be obeyed as such; and all orders transmitted through him from the Commander-in-chief, whether written or verbal, are to be punctually and immediately obeyed.

All soldiers more than two a company, who are at present absent upon furlough, and all officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers, who have not joined their respective corps, to be ordered forthwith to camp; the commanding officers of corps to be answerable to the General, to an immediate obedience to these orders.

The General (or, in his absence, the commanding officer at Roxbury) to send a report every day in writing, sealed up, to the Commander-in-chief, at head-quarters, in Cambridge, of all the material occurrences of the preceding day, mentioning particularly all arrivals of ships and vessels in the bay, and what changes and alterations are made in the stations of the men-of-war, transports, and floating batteries, &c.

Head-quarters at Cambridge, July 10th, 1775.

Parole, "FREDERICK"; countersign, "GLOUCESTER."

Officer for the day, to-morrow, Colonel Bridge.

Officer of the main guard, Lieut.-Colonel Robinson.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Fox.

The general court-martial of which Colonel William Prescott was president having tried William Pattin, of Colonel Gridley's regiment, having found him guilty of threatening and abusing a number of persons when prisoner in the quarter guard, the court sentence the prisoner to ride the wooden horse fifteen minutes. The General approves the sentence, and orders it to be put in execution at the head of the regiment.

David Wells, soldier in Colonel Gridley's regiment, tried by the above-mentioned general court-martial for sleeping upon his post when sentry, is acquitted by the court.

No non-commissioned officers, soldiers, but such as are guilty of capital offences, to be confined in the main guard. All those guilty of crimes triable by a regimental court-martial to be sent to the quarter guards of their respective corps, to be tried by a regimental court-martial.

The general court-martial whereof Colonel W^m Prescott is president to sit again this day, at the usual hour; all evidences and persons concerned to attend the court.

Whenever a general court-martial is ordered, it is expected that the evidences and persons by whom the prisoners are confined do punctually attend to support the accusation, as they will answer the contrary at their peril.

The colonels of the Massachusetts regiments to order one subaltern from each company in their respective corps forthwith upon the recruiting service. Proper instructions will be given by the Adjutant-General to the officers ordered upon that service; they will therefore call at head-quarters as soon as possible to receive their instructions. The General recommends it to the colonels of regiments to send active and vigilant officers upon this service, and those who are most in esteem with the people in the district they are sent to recruit in.

Head-quarters, Cambridge, July 11th, 1775.

Parole, "GUILFORD"; countersign, "HARTFORD."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Glover.

Officer of the main guard, Colonel Robinson.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Hardy.

GENERAL ORDERS. — 1. The general court-martial of which Colonel W^m Prescott was president is dissolved. A general court-martial is to be assembled as soon as possible, to try such persons as shall be brought before them; all evidences and persons concerned to attend the court.

2. The General understanding there is a bad custom prevailing of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers absenting themselves from

guard, under a pretence of going for provisions, it is therefore ordered, that all officers and soldiers bring their provisions to the guard they mount, and on no pretence quit their guard till it is regularly dismissed.

3. Notwithstanding the order of the Provincial Congress, some persons are so daring as to supply the soldiers with immoderate quantities of rum, and other spirituous liquors. [If] any sutler, tavern-keeper, or licensed innholder, shall presume, after the date of this order, to sell to any non-commissioned officer or soldier any spirituous liquors whatsoever, without an order from the captain of the company to which such non-commissioned officer or soldier belongs, he or they so offending may expect to be severely punished.

Lieut.-Colonel Ward to be president of the general court-martial.

July 12th.

Parole, "FALMOUTH"; countersign, "WORCESTER."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Prescott.

Officer of the main guard, Major Poor.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Gibbs.

GENERAL ORDERS.—The Adjutant-General will deliver at orderly time a certain number of printed returns to the adjutant of each regiment, so that for the future no excuse can be admitted for not making exact and regular returns when demanded. As it is only filling up the blanks with the proper numbers to be placed in them, the Commander-in-chief will not for the future admit of any palliation for making a false return, and is resolved to bring any officer, of what rank so ever, to a court-martial, who is found delinquent.

When any trumpeter or flag of truce is sent from Boston, or any post occupied by the enemy, they are to be stopped by the first sentry they are permitted to approach, who is to call for the sergeant of the guard, who will conduct them to the officer of his guard; and such trumpeter or flag of truce is not to be allowed to pass one step beyond that guard. The officer commanding that guard will send any letters or messages brought from the enemy immediately to the Commander-in-chief, and [to] no other person.

A general court-martial of line to sit at head-quarters at Cambridge to-morrow morning, at nine o'clock, to try Colonel Scammons, of the Massachusetts forces, accused of backwardness in the execution of his duty in the late action upon Bunker's Hill; the adjutant of Colonel Scammons's regiment to warn all evidences and persons concerned to attend the court.

Colonel Nixon, president of above court.

July 13th.

Parole, "GEORGIA"; countersign, "HUNTINGTON."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Bricket.

Officer of the main guard, Major Woods.

Adjutant, ——— Tyler.

GENERAL ORDERS.—As the army will forthwith be formed into brigades, the Adjutant-General will, at orderly time, this day deliver to the adjutant of each regiment a number of printed returns, one of which must be immediately filled up and signed by the commanding officer of each regiment, and sent as soon as possible to the Adjutant-General, by the adjutant of each regiment. On the back of the return it will be necessary to mention where and in what manner the regiment is at present posted.

The commanding officer at Chelsea is, as soon as possible after the receipt of this order, to direct all the cattle at Pulling Point, Shirley Point, and the intermediate place between Powderhorn Hill and the sea, to be driven off.

And it is recommended to the Commissary-General to endeavor to agree with the owners of said cattle to purchase them for the use of the army.

Head-quarters, July 14th, 1775.

Parole, "HALIFAX"; countersign, "INVERNESS."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Bridge.

Officer of the main guard, Major Brooks.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Fox.

As the health of an army principally depends upon cleanliness, it is recommended in the strongest manner to the commanding officer of corps, posts, and detachments, to be strictly diligent in ordering the necessities to be filled up once a week, and new ones dug; the streets of the lines and encampments to be swept daily, and all offal and carrion near the camp to be immediately buried. The officers commanding in barracks or quarters to be answerable that they are swept every morning, and all filth and dirt to be removed from about the houses.

Next to cleanliness, nothing is more conducive to a soldier's health than dressing his provision in a decent and proper manner; the officers commanding companies should therefore daily inspect the camp kitchens, and see that the men dress their provisions in a wholesome way.

The commanding officer of those parts of the lines and of redoubts where pikes are placed will order the quartermaster of corps to see the pikes greased twice a week. They are to be answerable that the pikes are kept clean, and always fit and ready for service.

The General, observing great remissness and neglect in the several guards in and about the camp, orders the officer commanding any guard to turn out his guard immediately upon the near approach of the Commander-in-chief, or of any of the general officers: and, upon passing the guard, the Commander-in-chief is to be received with rested arms, the officers to salute, and the drums to beat a march; the Major-General, with rested arms, the officer to salute, and the drums to beat two ruffles; the Brigadier-Generals, with rested arms, the officer to salute, and the drums to beat one ruffle.

There being something awkward as well as improper in the general

officers being stopped at the outposts, asked for guard (who it sometimes happens is as much unacquainted with the person of the generals, as the private men), before they can pass either in or out, it is recommended to both officers and men to make themselves acquainted with the persons of all the officers in general command; and in the meanwhile, to prevent mistakes, the general officers and their aides-de-camp will be distinguished in the following manner: viz., the Commander-in-chief, by a blue ribbon worn across his breast, between his coat and waistcoat; the Major and Brigadiers-General, by a pink ribbon worn in like manner; the aide-de-camp, by a green ribbon.

The court-martial of which Colonel Ward was president is dissolved.

Daniel Carmicle, soldier in Colonel Paterson's regiment, tried for disobedience to orders, for re-enlisting and taking advance money twice, and for drunkenness, is found guilty of the several charges, and ordered to be whipped on the bare back, with thirty-nine lashes, and discharged from the army. The General approves the sentence, and orders it to be executed to-morrow morning, at the head of the regiment he belongs to.

July 15th.

Parole, "VIRGINIA"; countersign, "MARYLAND."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Glover.

Officer of the main guard, Major Lee.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Hardy.

ORDERS. — 1. The commanding officer of each regiment to report the names of such men in their respective corps as are most expert in the management of whale-boats.

2. When any commissioned or non-commissioned officer is sent upon any detachment, duty of honor, fatigue, or to see the execution of any particular work, he is, so soon as the work is performed, to make report thereof to the commanding officer.

3. It being found advantageous to the public service to remove sundry horn cattle and sheep from the grounds near which they were grazing, near Chelsea (to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands), it is earnestly recommended to the several commissioners to purchase such of them as are fit for slaughter, of the owners, in order that they may suffer the least loss possible, from the unavoidable necessity of removing them from [the] rapacious jaws of our enemies.

4. Colonel Gridley, chief engineer, is desired to report what *chevaux-de-frise* are made, and [in] what forwardness those are that are now making. It is necessary those upon hand be completed without delay.

5. Notwithstanding the orders already given, the General hears with astonishment that not only soldiers, but officers unauthorized, are continually conversing with the officers and soldiers of the enemy. Any officer, non-commissioned officer, soldier, or any person whatsoever, who is detected holding any conversation, or carrying on any correspondence, with any officers or sentries of the advanced posts

of the enemy, will be immediately brought before a general court-martial, and punished with the utmost severity. The General *alone* is to judge of any propriety of any intercourse with the enemy, and no one else is to presume to interfere.

6. The chief engineer, Colonel Gridley, to order an engineer and a field-officer of artillery to go round the lines and redoubts, to examine if the guns are placed properly in the embrasures, and if the embrasures were properly made, and properly sloped toward the country. The engineer and artillery officers to report to the Commander-in-chief, as soon as they have obeyed this order.

Head-quarters at Cambridge, July 16th, 1775.

Parole, "CAROLINA"; countersign, "SPRINGFIELD."

Officer of the day, to-morrow, Colonel Prescott.

Officer of the main guard, Lieut.-Colonel Johannot.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Tyler.

GENERAL ORDERS. — The Continental Congress having earnestly recommended that Thursday next, the 20th instant, be observed by the inhabitants of all the English colonies upon the continent as a day of public fasting, humiliation, and prayer, that they may with united hearts and voices unfeignedly confess their sins before God, and supplicate the all-wise and merciful Disposer of Events to avoid the devastations and calamities of an unnatural war, the General orders that day to be religiously observed by the forces under his command, in manner exactly directed by the proclamation of the Continental Congress. It is therefore strictly enjoined on all officers and soldiers not upon duty to attend divine service at their accustomed places of worship, as well in the lines as in the encampments and quarters; and it is expected that all those who do go to worship, do take their arms, ammunition, and accoutrements, and are prepared for immediate action, if called upon. If, in the judgment of the officers, the works should be in such forwardness as the utmost security of the camp requires, they will command their men to abstain from labor on that solemn day.

It was with much surprise and concern that the General, in passing along the New Hampshire lines yesterday, observed a most wanton, mischievous, and unprofitable abuse of property, in the destruction of many valuable trees which were standing on the side of the road, out of the way of our works or guns; he therefore orders that an effectual stop be put to such practices for the future. A severe punishment will fall upon the transgressors of this order.

William Palfrey, Esq., is appointed aide-de-camp to Major General Lee. All orders, whether written or verbal, coming from General Lee, and delivered by Captain Palfrey, are to be punctually obeyed.

A particular return to be delivered to the Adjutant-General to-morrow, at orderly time, of the regiment of artillery, distinguishing how every man and officer in the corps is at present employed, and where posted.

Head-quarters at Cambridge, July 17th, 1775.

Parole, "BOSTON"; countersign, "SALEM."

Officer for the day, to-morrow, Colonel Brickett.

Officer of the main guard, Major Woods.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Gibbs.

GENERAL ORDERS. — There is reason to apprehend that the general orders are not published to the non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the army. As pleading ignorance of orders will not for the future be admitted in excuse for any delinquency, it is once more ordered that the adjutants of the several corps will be exact in seeing the orders read every evening to the men off duty of their respective corps, as they may depend upon answering before a court-martial for any neglect in obeying this order.

The general court-martial whereof Colonel John Nixon is president, to sit again to-morrow morning at eight o'clock, to try such prisoners as shall be brought before them. All evidences and persons concerned to attend the court.

There being a great neglect in sending in the returns to the Adjutant-General, as directed by the general orders of Friday last (especially from the regiment * posted in Roxbury), the General assures commanders of corps from whom returns are expected that he will not for the future pass over the slightest neglect in sending returns to the head-quarters at the time directed by the general orders. If there is any remissness in the adjutants, the colonels will not do their duty, if they do not confine the transgressors forthwith.

AFTER ORDERS. — Captain Benjamin Perkins, of Colonel Little's regiment, confined by Colonel Doolittle for assisting and abetting soldiers to mutiny in rescuing a prisoner from the quarter guard of Colonel Doolittle's regiment, is to be tried to-morrow morning by the general court-martial whereof Colonel Nixon is president. All evidences and persons concerned to attend the court.

Camp before Boston, July 18th, 1775.

Parole, "WILMINGTON"; countersign, "CHESTER."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Bridge.

Officer of the main guard, Major Poor.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Fox.

GENERAL ORDERS. — As the *chevaux-de-frise* are not in readiness, the officers commanding the different lines and redoubts are, as speedily as possible, to provide a sufficient number of gabions, which are to lay empty at the entrances of the respective posts, in order to be filled up as occasions may require. General Putnam will forthwith order his post to be furnished with a large quantity of fascines.

The officers commanding the different posts to send an exact return to head-quarters this afternoon of all the intrenching tools in their

* Fenno's *Orderly Book* reads "regiments." The copy in 4 Force's "American Archives," II., 1708, has "the regiments posted in and near Roxbury." — Eds.

possession, — spades, pickaxes, wheel-barrows, axes, and crow-bars ; and to mention the number and quantity of any of those implements that are still wanting to carry on their respective works.

Five captains, twelve subalterns, twelve sergeants, and three hundred rank and file to parade to-morrow morning immediately after divine service, from the regiments now stationed in Cambridge, as a working party to assist in raising the New Hampshire lines.

Colonel James Scammons, of the Massachusetts Bay forces, tried by the general court-martial of which Colonel John Nixon was president, for disobedience to orders and backwardness in the execution of duty, the court, after duly examining the evidence for and against the prisoner, together with what the prisoner had to say in his own defence, are of opinion that Colonel Scammons is not guilty of the crimes whereof he was accused, and therefore do acquit the prisoner.

Colonel Scammons to be immediately released from his arrest.

If, after what has happened, the enemy in revenge for their late losses should dare to attempt forcing our lines, the army may be assured that nothing but their own indolence and remissness can give the least hope of success to so rash an enterprise ; it is therefore strongly recommended to the commanding officers of corps, guards, and detachments, that they be assiduously alert in parading their men at their several posts half an hour before daybreak, and remain there till the commanding officer thiinks proper to dismiss them.

The General hears with astonishment the very frequent applications that are made to him, as well by officers as by soldiers, for furloughs. Brave men, who are engaged in the noble cause of liberty, should never think of removing from their camp while the enemy is in sight, and anxious to take every advantage any indiscretion on our side may give them. The General doubts not but that the commanding officers of corps will anticipate his wishes, and discourage those under them from disgracefully desiring to go home, until the campaign is ended.

Head-quarters, Cambridge, July 19th, 1775.

Parole, "DERBY" ; countersign, "MARBLEHEAD."

Officer for the day for to-morrow, Colonel Glover.

Officer of the main guard, Major Brooks.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Hardy.

Head-quarters, Cambridge, July 20th, 1775.

Parole, "ALBANY" ; countersign, "TICONDEROGA."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Brickett.

Officer of the main guard, Major Lee.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Tyler.

Certain drums in and near Cambridge very improperly beat the *reveille* this morning before day ; although the troops are ordered to be under arms half an hour before daylight, it does not follow that the drums are to beat at that time. The *reveille* is to beat when a sentry can see clearly one thousand yards around him, and not before.

All aides-de-camp and majors of brigades are to keep regularly

entered in a book all the general orders of the army, as well as those of the brigade they belong to, as the General-in-chief will not for the future admit as an excuse for the breach of orders the plea of not knowing them.

Samuel Osgood, Esq., and Joseph Ward, Esq., being appointed aides-de-camp to Major-General Ward, they are to be obeyed as such. As all orders coming from aides-de-camp are to be considered as the orders of their respective generals, and, whether written or verbal, to be forthwith obeyed, it may be necessary once more to repeat to the army, that every aide-de-camp and major of brigade will be distinguished by a green ribbon.

Certain corps having been dilatory in delivering last Saturday their weekly returns, as positively directed by former orders, the General is determined for the future not to excuse any neglect in sending the returns every Saturday to the Adjutant-General. As the commanding officers of regiments are to be answerable for the due observance of this order, it is expected they are exact in obliging their respective adjutants to fulfil their duty.

Head-quarters, July 21st, 1775.

Parole, "MALDEN"; countersign, "CHELSEA."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Johonnot.

Officer of the main guard, Major Woods.

Adjutant of the day, —— Gibbs.

Head-quarters at Cambridge, July 22d, 1775.

Parole, "NANTASKET"; countersign, "MISSISSIPPI."

A court of inquiry to sit forthwith (president, Dr. Foster; Dr. Warren and Dr. Eustace, members), to examine into a complaint exhibited by Mr. John Spaulding, surgeon to General Putnam's regiment, against Mr. Penuel Chiney, surgeon's mate of said regiment; all evidences to attend the court.

Captain Israel Putnam and Lieutenant Sam^l Webb, being appointed aides-de-camp to Major-General Putnam, they are to be obeyed as such.

Regularity and due subordination being so essentially necessary to the good order and government of an army, and without it the whole must soon become a scene of disorder and confusion, the General finds it indispensably necessary, without waiting any longer for despatches from the General Continental Congress, immediately to form the army into three grand divisions, and of dividing each of those three grand divisions into two brigades. He therefore orders that the following regiments, viz. : —

General Ward's, General Thomas's, Colonel Fellows's, Colonel Cotton's, Colonel Danielson's, Colonel David Brewer's, compose one brigade, and be under the command of Brigadier-General Thomas. That General Spencer's, Colonel Parsons's, Colonel Learnard's, Colonel Walker's, Colonel J. Read's, Independents, compose another brigade, commanded by Brigadier-General Spencer. That these two

brigades compose the right wing, or division, in the army, and be under the command of Major-General Ward, and remain at Roxbury and its southern dependencies.

That Colonel Stark's, Colonel Poor's, Colonel Bond's (New Hampshire), Colonel Nixon's, Colonel Mansfield's, Colonel Doolittle's (Massachusetts), be formed into another brigade, under the command of Brigadier-General Sullivan, and posted on Winter Hill. That Colonel Varnum's, Colonel Hitchcock's, Colonel Church's (Rhode Island), Colonel Whitcomb's, Colonel Gardner's, Colonel J. Brewer's (Massachusetts), be formed into another brigade, and commanded by Brigadier-General Green, and posted upon Prospect Hill. And these two brigades compose the left wing, or second division, of the army, under the command of Major-General Lee.

That General Heath's, Colonel Patterson's, Colonel Scammons's, Colonel Gerrish's, Colonel Phinney's, Colonel Prescott's, be formed into another brigade, and commanded by Brigadier-General Heath, and be posted between Cambridge River and Prospect Hill. That General Putnam's, Colonel Glover's, Colonel Frye's, Colonel Bridge's, Colonel Woodbridge's, Colonel Sargeant's, be formed into another brigade, under the command of the senior officer therein, and until the pleasure of the Continental Congress be known. These two brigades to be under the command of Major-General Putnam, as also a *corps-de-réserve* for the defence of the several posts north of Roxbury, not already named. The arrangement now ordered to take place, and is to be made as speedily as possible; and the major-generals are to see it done accordingly. Some inconveniences may arise to certain individuals by this change; but as the good of the service requires it to be made, an alert and ready compliance is expected. All applications from henceforward, by officers or soldiers, for leave of absence, are to be made to the major-general commanding each division, who is to judge of the propriety of the application, and grant furloughs where they see cause, without applying to the Commander-in-chief; provided it be not contrary to general orders.

General Heath's regiment is to take post at No. 2, in lieu of General Ward's; Colonel Patterson's, remain at No. 3; [Colonel Scammons's]* to occupy No. 1 and the redoubt between that and No. 2; Colonel Gerrish's † regiment to take post at the redoubt upon Sewall's Point; Colonel Gerrish's regiment to furnish the companies for Chelsea, Malden, and Medford.

Head-quarters at Cambridge, July 23d, 1775.

Parole, "BRUNSWICK"; countersign, "PRINCETOWN."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Glover.

Officer of the main guard, Major Brooks.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Hardy.

* Supplied from the copy of this day's orders in 4 Force's "American Archives," II., 1738. The copy in Fenno's Orderly Book is incomplete. — Eds.

† The copy in Force, *ut supra*, reads "Prescott's" instead of "Gerrish's." — Eds.

As the Continental army has unfortunately no uniform, and consequently many inconveniences must arise from not being able always to distinguish commissioned officers from the non-commissioned, and the non-commissioned from the privates, it is desired that some badges of distinction may be immediately provided: for instance, the field-officers may have red or pink colored cockades in their hats; the captains, yellow or buff; and the subalterns, green. They are to furnish themselves accordingly. The sergeants may be distinguished by an epaulet, or stripe of red cloth sewed upon the right shoulder; the corporals, by one of green.

The people employed to make spears are desired by the General to make four dozen of them immediately, thirteen feet in length, and the wood part a good deal more substantial than those already made, particularly in the New Hampshire lines. [They] are ridiculously short and slight, and can answer no sort of purpose; no more are, therefore, to be made on the same model.

The commanding officers of the different works and posts are once more enjoined to furnish themselves with a sufficient number of gabions and fascines, which are to stop up the entrance of their respective redoubts and lines, and to repair their works which may be either damaged by the weather or by the fire of the enemy. It is observed that several of the entrances of the redoubts are still left open, without any sort of defence; the commanding officers of each redoubt are therefore ordered to cut a wide, deep ditch at the entrances, and throw a bridge of strong plank across. This to be done without delay.

John Davis, in Captain Foster's company, in Colonel Gridley's regiment of artillery, tried for desertion, and suspicion of intending to go to the enemy, is acquitted by the general court-martial. Ensign Trofton, accused by Colonel Scammons of abusive and insulting language to the said Colonel Scammons while under arrest, tried by a general court-martial, of which Colonel Nixon was president; the court were unanimously of opinion that the prisoner is not guilty, and do therefore acquit him, with honor. Lieutenant Trofton to be forthwith released from his arrest.

Michael Bury, Captain Parker's company, and Colonel Prescott's regiment, tried by the same general court-martial for refusing his duty, and enlisting in another company; the court condemns the prisoner, and orders him to receive thirty-nine lashes. The General orders the sentence to be put in execution at the head of the regiment the delinquent belongs to.

Colonel Little's regiment, omitted in yesterday's orders, is in General Green's brigade, and to be posted on Prospect Hill.

Head-quarters at Cambridge, July 24th, 1775.

Parole, "SALISBURY"; countersign, "CUMBERLAND."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Prescott.

Officer of the main guard, Major Lee.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Tyler.

It being thought proper to distinguish the majors from the brigadiers-

general by some particular mark, for the future the major-general will wear a broad purple ribbon.

Notwithstanding the general orders making the distinction of general officers, aides-de-camp, &c., the generals are frequently stopped by the sentinels, which can only happen from the captains having neglected to read the orders to their respective companies. If any general officer, aide-de-camp, or major of brigade, is again stopped through the ignorance of the sentinels, the captains will be considered as responsible.

As any attempt the enemy from their late disappointments may have the rashness or the hardness to make will be violent and sudden, the General expects the officers and soldiers will be not only resolute, but alert to defeat; and, in a particular manner, he enforces his orders to every field-officer, upon no account (duty excepted) to lay out of camp, but upon every occasion to show by their example that activity and steady courage so necessary to defeat an enterprising enemy.

Notwithstanding the orders of the 11th instant, expressly forbidding all officers and soldiers from quitting their guard before they are relieved and dismissed, the General is informed such unsoldierly practices are still committed; he therefore admonishes all officers and non-commissioned officers not to suffer any person to quit their guard upon any pretence; care to be taken the men are properly supplied with provisions before they mount guard.

Report being made this morning to the General that the main guard-room is kept abominably filthy and dirty; for the future no commanding officer is to relieve another upon that guard until he is assured the officers' and men's apartments are clean and in decent order.

The surgeon of every regiment in the lines, redoubts, or in and near Cambridge, to deliver to-morrow, at twelve at noon, to the Adjutant-General at head-quarters, an exact return of the sick in the regiments they respectively belong to. The names, rank, and disorder of each officer, non-commissioned officer, and soldier, to be mentioned in the return.

The returns of the surgeon of the corps stationed in and near Roxbury to be made to the commanding general at Roxbury Tuesday noon, in the manner and form directed by the above order, and the general commanding at Roxbury will transmit them to head-quarters at orderly time Wednesday.

Cambridge, July 25th, 1775.

Parole, "HALIFAX"; countersign, "YORK."

Continual complaints being made that soldiers of regiments and companies, after enlisting in one company and regiment, have gone and enlisted in another; insomuch [that] it would engross the General's whole time to hear the disputes upon this subject, for the future, any officers who have any dispute in regard to the men recruited are to

apply to the brigadier commanding their brigade, who will order a court-martial of the brigade to hear and determine the matter.

The general court-martial of which Colonel Nixon was president to be dissolved this evening, and another general court-martial of the line to sit to-morrow morning at the usual time and place, to try such prisoners as shall be brought before them. All evidences and persons concerned to attend.

Head-quarters, Cambridge, July 26th, 1775.

Parole, "AMSTERDAM"; countersign, "AMBOY."

It is recommended to the commanding officers of corps that all coverings made of boards [be] built in the form of barracks, and in the most advantageous manner, at the same time so contrived as to be warm and comfortable in cold weather.

All passes to be discontinued for the future, and no person to be admitted into the lines, unless introduced by an officer who can vouch for him, or by order of the officer commanding in the lines.

It being represented that the present hospital is not large enough to contain the sick, Lieutenant-Governor Oliver's house is to be cleared for that purpose, and care to be taken that no injury is done to it.

Notwithstanding the strict and repeated orders that have been given against firing of small arms, it is hourly practised. All officers commanding guards, posts, and detachments to be alert in apprehending all future transgressors.

Captain Clark, of General Putnam's regiment, confined in arrest for a neglect of duty when upon guard, tried by a late general court-martial, is acquitted, and immediately to be released from his arrest.

Levi Wood, soldier in Captain Nutting's company, in Colonel Prescott's regiment, confined for absenting himself without leave, and refusing to take the oath, and threatening to leave the army, the court-martial, upon the prisoner's pleading guilty, and promising to behave obediently for the future, recommended him to the General's mercy, who is pleased to pardon the prisoner.

Head-quarters, Cambridge, July 27th, 1775.

Parole, "BEDFORD"; countersign, "GUILFORD."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, ———.

Officer of the main guard, ———.

Adjutant of the day, ———.

John Trumbull, Esq., being appointed aide-de-camp to his Excellency the Commander-in-chief, he is to be obeyed as such.

A court of inquiry to sit to-morrow morning, at eight o'clock, in the tutor's chamber (Mr. Hall's), to examine into a complaint, exhibited upon oath, in the public newspapers, against Mr. Benjamin Whiting, a prisoner in the college. All evidences and persons concerned to attend the court.

For the future, when any deserters come to the out-guards, they are without the least delay to be sent by a corporal's guard to the next

guard in the lines, who is immediately to escort them in the same manner to the major-general commanding that division of the army, who, as soon as he has examined them, will forthwith send them under a proper escort from his guard to the head-quarters. Some of the deserters being made drunk who came last night from the enemy, before they reached head-quarters, it will be considered as a breach of orders in any person who gives rum to deserters, before they are examined by the General.

A subaltern officer's guard to be mounted to-morrow morning at eight o'clock, at a certain distance from the small-pox hospital; the officer to come this evening at six o'clock to the Adjutant-General for orders.

Head-quarters, July 28th, 1775.

Parole, "CUMBERLAND"; countersign, "BROOKLINE."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, ———.

Officer of the main guard, ———.

Adjutant of the day, ———.

The surgeons of Learnard's, Heath's, Little's, Phinney's, and Parson's regiments having neglected to deliver in the returns of the sick of their respective regiments to the Adjutant-General, those returns to be delivered forthwith, and the surgeons of those corps are to be exact in obedience to orders.

Head-quarters, July 29th, 1775.

Parole, "DARTMOUTH"; countersign, "CORK."

A sergeant and six men to parade at the head-quarters, at eleven o'clock, to escort certain prisoners and deserters to Worcester; this party to be victualled for this day and to-morrow. The sergeant will receive his orders from the Adjutant-General.

Mr. Benjamin Whiting, tried by a court of inquiry, ordered in the general orders of the 27th instant, whereof Lieut.-Colonel Brickett was president. The court having maturely considered the evidence for and against the prisoner, as well as what the prisoner had to offer in his defence, are of opinion that the prisoner is not guilty of the crime laid to his charge, and do therefore acquit the prisoner. The General therefore orders the prisoner to be released.

James McDaniel, tried by a general court-martial, whereof Colonel Glover is president, for forging an order of General Putnam's to obtain a quart of rum, and for abusive language to Colonel Gridley, is found guilty, and ordered to receive twenty lashes. The General confirms the sentence, and orders it to be executed after prayer-time to-morrow.

James Foster, of Captain Butler's company, in Colonel Nixon's regiment, tried by the same general court-martial for robbing Dr. Foster, surgeon of the general hospital, being found guilty of the charge, is sentenced to receive thirty-nine lashes, and to suffer one month's fatigue. The General approves the sentence, and orders it to

be put in execution at the head of the regiment, after prayer-time to-morrow morning.

W^m Winslow, of Captain Perkins's company of artillery, tried by the same court-martial for stealing a common cartridge of powder, is acquitted.

Head-quarters, July 30th, 1775.

Parole, "ESSEX"; countersign, "DUBLIN."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Prescott.

Officer of the main guard, Major Woods.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Gibbs.

William Tudor, Esq., being appointed judge-advocate of the Continental Army, he is in all things relative to his office to be acknowledged and obeyed as such.

The drummers and fifers of the regiments in and about Cambridge are to be ordered constantly to attend the drum-and-fife major, at the usual hours, for instruction.

Head-quarters, July 31st, 1775.

Parole, "FALKLAND"; countersign, "ELDENTON."*

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Johonnot.

Officer of the main guard, Major Poor.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Fox.

The Continental Congress having been pleased to appoint Joseph Trumbull, Esq., to be commissary-general to the army of the United Colonies, all commissaries heretofore appointed by any of the distinct Colonies' Congresses, or by particular authority of any particular districts or colony, are forthwith to make an exact return of the provisions, and all the different species of provisions, they have in or near the camps at Cambridge and Roxbury. Thereupon Commissary-General Trumbull, being assured by the report of his clerk, assistant, or from his own examination, that such return is just and true, is to give his receipt for the quantity delivered into his hands; which receipt will be a good voucher in the passing the account of the different colony commissaries heretofore appointed, and will be allowed as such.

The commissaries at present appointed by the several colonies are forthwith to make up their accounts unto the third day of August, inclusive, ready to be laid before the Commander-in-chief, and by him transmitted to the Continental Congress, or to be adjusted, and finally settled by him, as the Continental Congress shall think proper to direct.

A return, signed by the commanding officers of regiments and corps, to be delivered to the Adjutant-General to-morrow morning, at general orderly-time, of the names, ranks, and dates of the officers' commissions

* Fenno's Orderly Book reads "Edentown." In the copy in 4 Force's "American Archives," III. 34, it is "Edenton," which is the modern spelling of the name. — Eds.

in their respective regiments and corps, mentioning also the vacancies, and how occasioned.

A general court-martial to sit immediately, to try Captain Gardner, of Colonel Vernon's regiment, for cowardice, abandoning his post, and deserting his men.* All evidences and persons concerned to attend the court.

Head-quarters, August 1st, 1775.

Parole, "GIBRALTER"; countersign, "FAIRFIELD."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Johonnot.

Officer of the main guard, Major Lee.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Fox.

The General thanks Major Tupper and the officers and soldiers under his command for their gallant and soldierlike behavior in possessing themselves of the enemy's post at the light-house, and for the number of prisoners they took there, and doubts not but the Continental Army will be as famous for their mercy as their valor.

Two subalterns, two sergeants, one drum, and thirty rank and file, to parade at head-quarters, at noon, to escort the prisoners to Worcester. The commanding officer will receive his orders from the Adjutant-General. For the satisfaction of all concerned, the General directs the following resolution of the legislature of this colony to be inserted in general orders, viz.: —

In House of Representatives,

WATERTOWN, July 29, 1775.

Whereas, sundry complaints have been made by some of the soldiers raised by this colony, that they have not received the allowance pay of forty shillings, agreeable to the resolution of Provincial Congress; therefore,

Resolved, That a committee be appointed forthwith to apply to the colonels of the several regiments raised by this colony, and to the muster-masters and pay-masters in the camps at Cambridge and Roxbury, and obtain of them a complete list of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers in their respective regiments, distinguishing those that have been mustered and paid from those that have not, that such methods may be pursued as shall remove all just ground of complaint.

Read, and ordered, that Colonel Cushing and Mr. Webster, with such as the honorable board shall join, be a committee for the purposes above mentioned.

Sent up for concurrence.

JAS WARREN, *Speaker*.

In council, read and concurred, and Colonel Lincoln is joined.

Attest:

P. MORTON, *Secretary*.

The officers commanding Massachusetts regiments will pay all due attention to the foregoing resolution.

* Fenno's Orderly Book has "Colonel Hitchcock's regiment." The copy in 4 Force's "American Archives," III. 34, has "Colonel Varnum's regiment," which is correct. See also the general orders for August 2d, on the next page. — Eds.

One man in a company to be appointed a camp color-man, from every company in every regiment in the army, whose particular duty it must be to attend the quartermaster and quartermaster-sergeant; to sweep the street of their respective encampments; to fill up the old necessary houses, and dig new ones; to bury all offals, filth, and nastiness that may poison or infect the health of the troops; and the quartermasters are to be answerable to their commanding officers for a strict observance of this order, and, by persevering in the constant and unremitted execution thereof, remove that odious reputation which (with but too much reason) has stigmatized the character of American troops. The colonels and commanding officers of regiments are to be answerable to the General for all due obedience to this order.

The General finding it not uncustomary for officers to take the liberty of absenting themselves from camp without leave, and going home, for the future any officer found guilty of so glaring an offence against all order and discipline, and setting so bad an example to the non-commissioned officers and soldiers under his command, such officer or officers so offending may depend upon being punished with the utmost severity.

Lest the late successes against the enemy should occasion any relaxation in the alertness of the troops, the General recommends it in the strongest manner to all the officers and soldiers of the Continental Army to be more vigilant in their duty, and watchful of the enemy, as they will certainly take every advantage of any supineness on our part.

Head-quarters, August 2d, 1775.

Parole, "HALIFAX"; countersign, "GENEVA."

Captain Oliver Parker, of Colonel Prescott's regiment, tried by a general court-martial, whereof Colonel Glover was president, for defrauding his men of their advance pay, and by false returns imposing upon the commissary, and drawing more rations than he had men in his company, and for selling the provisions he by that means obtained, is by the court found guilty of the whole charge against him, and sentenced to be cashiered, mulcted of all his pay, and rendered incapable of future service.

Captain Christopher Gardiner, of Colonel Varnum's regiment, in the Rhode Island brigade, tried by a general court-martial, whereof Colonel Thomas Church was president, for deserting his post, is found guilty of the crime, and unanimously sentenced to be cashiered, as incapable of serving his country in any military capacity.

The General approves both the above sentences, and orders the commanding officers of the regiments to see the prisoners dismissed the army.

Head-quarters, August 3d, 1775.

Parole, "IRELAND"; countersign, "HARTFORD."

When any plunder is taken from the enemy (not excepted by the Continental articles of war), such plunder must be all surrendered to the commanding officer; and, as soon as convenient after his arrival at head-quarters, public notice must be made that an auction will be held

in the front of the encampment for the sale thereof the next day at noon; and the money arising therefrom is to be equally divided between the officers and men that took it. This order is not to be construed to extend to permitting unlawful and irregular plundering, as any officer or soldier who shall be found guilty thereof will be punished with the greatest severity.

All the armorers belonging to any of the regiments in the three brigades posted in the lines, or in Cambridge, and those employed in the artillery, to be at head-quarters by eight o'clock to-morrow morning; and none will be entitled to any pay hereafter who does not attend at that time.

Head-quarters, August 4th, 1775.

Parole, "LONDON"; countersign, "ICELAND."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Bricket.

Officer of the main guard, Major Poor.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Gibbs.

It is with indignation and shame the General observes that notwithstanding the repeated orders which have been given to prevent the firing of guns in and about the camp, that it is daily and hourly practised. That, contrary to all order, straggling soldiers do still pass the guards, and fire at a distance, where there is not the least probability of hurting the enemy, and where no other end is answered but to waste their ammunition, expose themselves to the ridicule of the enemy, and keep their own camps harassed by frequent and continual alarms, to the hurt and detriment of every good soldier, who is thereby disturbed of his natural rest, and at length will never be able to distinguish between a real and false alarm.

For these reasons, it is in the most peremptory manner forbid any person or persons whatsoever, under any pretence, to pass the out-guards, unless authorized by the commanding officer of that part of the lines, signified in writing, which must be shown to the officers of the guard as they pass.

Any person offending in this particular will be considered in no other light than as a common enemy, and the guards will have orders to fire upon them as such. The commanding officer of every regiment is to direct that every man in his regiment is made acquainted with these orders, to the end that no one may plead ignorance, and that all may be apprised of the consequences of disobedience. The colonels of regiments and commanding officers of corps to order the rolls of every company to be called twice a day, and every man's ammunition examined at evening roll-calling, and such as are found to be deficient to be confined.

The guards are to apprehend all persons firing guns near their posts, whether towns-people or soldiers.

Head-quarters, August 5th, 1775.

Parole, "WESTMINSTER"; countersign, "RICHMOND."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Johonnot.

Officer of the main guard, Major Brooks.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Fox.

For the establishment of order and to prevent disputes between officers, as well as for fixing a regular and proper distribution of the commissions of the Continental Army, part of which are already arrived from the Congress, and the rest hourly expected, it is ordered, that a meeting of the field-officers of each brigade be held to-morrow morning at ten o'clock, as near as may be to the centre of the encampment of each brigade, who are to choose, by ballot, one out of their body to represent them in forming a court for the adjustment and final settlement of —

First, The rank of the regiments of the Continental Army, and numbering of each regiment accordingly, as all differences and distinctions are to be now laid aside. The regiments of the several provinces that form the Continental Army are to be considered no longer in a separate and distinct point of view, but as part of the whole army of the United Provinces.

Secondly, The rank of the field-officers of all the regiments forming the Continental Army.

Thirdly, The rank of all the captains, subalterns, and staff-officers. And as doubts may arise which cannot be determined by the six field-officers so chosen by ballot, they are hereby directed to choose by ballot one brigadier-general, who will preside as moderator of the court for finally settling the rank of all the corps and all the commissioned officers that compose the army of the United Colonies.

This court, being duly constituted and appointed, are to sit on Monday morning next, at Deacon Jones's, in Cambridge.

The church to be cleaned out forthwith, as the Rev. Mr. Doyle will perform divine service therein to-morrow morning at ten o'clock.

Head-quarters, August 6th, 1775.

Parole, "MANCHESTER"; countersign, "LANCASTER."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Bridge.

Officer of the main guard, Major Lee.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Sartell.

Head-quarters, August 7th, 1775.

Parole, "NEWCASTLE"; countersign, "MALDEN."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Glover.

Officer of the main guard, Lieut.-Colonel Robinson.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Hardy.

Captain Kilton, of Colonel Patterson's regiment, tried by a general court-martial for neglect of duty, is found guilty of a breach of the forty-ninth article of the rules and regulations for the Massachusetts army; they therefore sentence him to receive a severe reprimand from the commanding officer, at the head of the regiment.

Application having been made for sutlers to supply the different regiments with necessaries, the Commander-in-chief has no objection

to each colonel appointing one for his particular regiment, provided the public is not to be taxed with any expense by the appointment; and provided, also, that each colonel doth become answerable for the conduct of the sutler so appointed, and taking care that he conform strictly to all orders given for the regulation of the army, and that he does not in any instance attempt to impose upon the soldiers in the prices of their goods. No officer, directly or indirectly, is to become a sutler. It is in an especial manner recommended to the commanding officer of each regiment to see that a store of shoes and shirts are laid in for their men, as these are at all times necessary. The General recommends it to the colonels to provide Indian boots or leggings for their men, instead of stockings, as they are not only warmer, but wear longer, but, by getting them of a color, contribute to uniformity in dress, especially as the General is in hopes of prevailing with the Continental Congress to give each man a hunting-shirt.

For the future, no return is to be delivered to the Adjutant-General that is not signed by the commanding officer of the regiment or corps specified by the return; and it is expected that the commanding officers of regiments do not receive any returns from their adjutants, unless he at the same time presents the said commanding officer with a particular return, signed by the respective captains of companies in the regiment he commands.

Head-quarters, August 8th, 1775.

Parole, "PORTSMOUTH"; countersign, "NORTHUMBERLAND."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Brickett.

Officer of the main guard, Major Woods.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Tyler.

As the numbers of absent sick, by the last returns, are astonishingly great, it is ordered that the name of each man (absent under that pretence) be given in by the commanding officer of each regiment, and signed by him, setting forth the town which each particular soldier is gone to, that the committee thereof may be applied to, to inspect into the nature of their complaints, and make report of those who are fit for duty. It has been intimated to the General that some officers, under pretence of giving furloughs to men recovering from sickness, send them to work upon their farms, for their own private emolument, at the same time that the public is taxed with their pay, if not with their provisions. These insinuations being but obliquely made, the General is unwilling to believe that any officer can be so lost to all sense of honor as to defraud the public in so scandalous a manner, and therefore does not at present pay any further regard to the insinuation than to declare that he will show no favor to any officer who shall be found guilty of such iniquitous practices, but will do his utmost endeavors to bring them to exemplary punishment, and the disgrace due to such malconduct.

The following is the ration of provision allowed by the Continental Congress unto each soldier, viz.: one pound of fresh beef, or three-quarters of a pound of pork, or one pound of salt fish per diem; one

pound of bread or flour per diem ; three pints of pease or beans per week, or vegetables equivalent at five shillings sterling per bushel for pease or beans ; one pint of milk per diem per man, when to be had ; one half pint of rice, or one pint of Indian meal, per man per week ; one quart of spruce beer per man per diem, or nine gallons of molasses per company of one hundred men ; three pounds of candles to one hundred men per week, for guards, &c. ; twenty-four pounds of soft, or eight pounds of hard soap, for one hundred men per week ; one ration of salt [meat*], one ration of fresh [meat*], and two rations of bread, to be delivered Monday morning ; Wednesday morning the same ; Friday morning the same, and one ration of salt fish. All weekly allowances delivered Wednesday morning. When the number of regiments are too many to serve the whole the same day, then the number is to be divided equally, and one part served Monday morning, the other part Tuesday morning, and so through the week.

Head-quarters, August 9th, 1775.

Parole, "ROCHESTER" ; countersign, "PLYMOUTH."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Robinson.

Officer of main guard, Major Poor.

Adjutant, ——— Gibbs.

The commanding officer of each regiment or corps is to send a return at orderly-time to-morrow to the Adjutant-General, of the number of tents or boards which are wanted to cover the men, that they may be provided as soon as possible. They are also to give in the names of such of their men who have never received blankets, or who lost them in the engagement on Bunker's Hill.

As there are several vacancies in the different regiments, if there are any particular gentlemen who signalized themselves in the action on Bunker's Hill, by their spirited behavior and good conduct, and of which sufficient proof is adduced to the General, he will, in filling up the commissions, use his endeavors to have them appointed (if not already commissioned) to some office, or promoted, if they are ; as it will give him infinite pleasure at all times to reward merit, wherever it is found.

Colonel Learned's regiment to join General Thomas's brigade, and Colonel Huntington's to join General Spencer's brigade.

Captain Ballard, of Colonel Frye's regiment, tried by the late general court-martial for profane swearing, and for beating and abusing his men. The court find the prisoner guilty in two instances of profane swearing, and of beating one of his men, and therefore sentence him to pay a fine of four shillings for each offence.

Captain Jessee Saunders, of Colonel Sargeant's regiment, tried by the late general court-martial for frequently drawing more provision than he had men in his company to consume, for forcing the sentries, and taking away a gun, the property of William Turner, and threatening the life of Sergeant Connor, cocking and presenting his gun at

* Supplied from Fenno's Orderly Book. — EDS.

him when in the execution of his duty. The court are of opinion that the prisoner is guilty of the whole of the charge exhibited against him, and unanimously adjudge that he be forthwith cashiered. The General approves the above sentence, and orders it to be put in immediate execution.

To-morrow the rules and articles formed by the Honorable Continental Congress for the government of the twelve United Colonies will be delivered out, to be distributed through the several corps of the army. They are to be signed by the several officers of each regiment, beginning with the colonels, and then by the soldiers, in the blank leaves left for that purpose ; and, after they are so subscribed, they are to be deposited with the captain of each company. If there are any officers or soldiers who refuse to sign them, their names, the companies and regiments to which they respectively belong, are to be reported to the Commander-in-chief without delay.

Mr. John Goddard is appointed by the Commander-in-chief wagon-master-general to the army of the twelve United Colonies, and is to be obeyed as such.

Head-quarters, August 10th, 1775.

Parole, "SCHOOLKILL" ; countersign, "RICHMOND."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Johonnot.

Officer of the main guard, Major Brooks.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Fox.

It is a matter of exceeding great concern to the General to find, that, at a time when the united efforts of America are exerting in defence of the common rights and liberties of mankind, that there should be in an army constituted for so noble a purpose such repeated instances of officers, who, lost to every sense of honor and virtue, are seeking, by dirty and base means, the promotion of their own dishonest gain, to the eternal disgrace of themselves, and dishonor of their country. Practices of this sort will never be overlooked, whenever an accusation is lodged ; but the authors brought to the most exemplary punishment. It is therefore much to be wished that the example of Jessee Saunders, late captain in Colonel Sargeant's regiment, will prove the last shameful instance of such a grovelling disposition ; and that for the future, every officer, for his own honor and the sake of [an] injured public, will make a point of detecting every iniquitous practice of this kind, using their utmost endeavors in their several capacities to lessen the expense of the war as much as possible, that the general cause in which we are struggling may receive no injury from the enormity of the expense.

The several paymasters are immediately to ascertain what pay was due to the different regiments and corps on the first day of this instant, that each man may receive his respective due, as soon as the money arrives to pay them.

It is earnestly recommended that great exactness be used in these settlements : first, that no man goes without his pay ; and, next, that not one farthing more be drawn than what is justly due. After this, the pay may be drawn once a month, or otherwise, as shall be found

most convenient. In the mean while, the soldiers need be under no apprehension of [not] getting every farthing that is justly their due: it is therefore expected that they do their duty with that cheerfulness and alacrity becoming men who are contending for their liberty, property, and every thing that is valuable to freemen and their posterity.

Head-quarters, August 11th, 1775.

Parole, "TUNBRIDGE"; countersign, "SQUANTUM."

Complaint having been made by the inhabitants east of Watertown that their gardens are robbed, their fields laid waste, and fences destroyed; any persons who shall for the future be detected in such flagitious, wicked practices, will be punished without mercy.

The Commander-in-chief has been pleased to appoint Stephen Moylan, Esq., to be muster-master-general to the army of the United Colonies. He is, in all things touching his duty as muster-master-general, to be considered and obeyed as such.

Head-quarters, August 12th, 1775.

Parole, "ULSTER"; countersign, "TORRINGTON."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Brickett.

Officer of the main guard, Major Austin.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Hardy.

Head-quarters, August 13th, 1775.

Parole, "WILLIAMSBURG"; countersign, "TORRINGTON."*

A general court-martial to sit to-morrow morning to try Colonel John Mansfield, of the Massachusetts forces, accused by three of his officers of high crimes and misdemeanors. One brigadier-general and twelve field-officers to compose the court.

President, Brigadier-General Green.

MEMBERS.

Colonel James Reed.

Colonel Vernum.

Lieut.-Colonel Wyman.

Lieut.-Colonel Holden.

Major Cudworth.

Major Butterick.

Colonel Patterson.

Colonel Woodbridge.

Lieut.-Colonel Marsh.

Lieut.-Colonel Miller.

Major Sawyer.

Major Angell.

Head-quarters, Cambridge, August 14th, 1775.

Parole, "YORK"; countersign, "YARMOUTH."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Lieut.-Colonel Johonnot.

Officer of main guard, Major Poor.

Adjutant, ——— Gibbs.

* In Fenno's Orderly Book, the countersign for August 13th is "Canada," which is probably the correct reading. In the copy of the orders in 4 Force's "American Archives," III. 250, there is no entry under date of August 12th; and the parole and countersign for August 13th are given as in Colonel Henshaw's copy. — Eds.

Major Thomas Mifflin is appointed quartermaster-general to the army of the United Colonies : he is to be obeyed as such.

As the troops are all to be mustered as soon as possible, the muster-master-general, Stephen Moylan, Esq., will deliver to the commanding officer of each regiment thirty blank muster-rolls upon Friday next, and directions for each captain how he is to fill up the blanks.

Head-quarters, August 15th, 1775.

Parole, "ARLINGTON"; countersign, "BEDFORD."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Colonel Prescott.

Officer of the main guard, Captain ———.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Fox.

David Henley, Esq., is appointed brigade-major to General Heath's brigade.

John Trumbull, Esq., is appointed brigade-major to General Spencer's brigade.

Richard Cary, Esq., is appointed brigade-major to the brigade commanded by the eldest colonel.

Daniel Box and James Scammell, Esqs.,* are appointed to continue to do the duty of brigade-majors to the brigades to which they respectively belong.

Edmund Randolph and George Bayler, Esqs., are appointed aides-de-camp to the Commander-in-chief.

All and every of the above-named gentlemen to be obeyed in their respective capacities.

The Quartermaster-General is, without delay, to examine the encampments and coverings of the different regiments and corps, to see that those which are not designed to remain in houses are provided as soon as possible with tents or boards sufficient for their accommodation; at the same time, he is to take care to prevent any unnecessary waste of the latter, and to put a stop to the officers building such large houses as some of them are doing, unless they are intended for the accommodation of a number sufficient to fill them, or are built at their own expense; but no large houses to be placed near any of the redoubts or lines.

In addition to the order of the 4th instant, the colonel or commanding officer of each regiment and corps is to cause an exact account to be taken (by his captains) of the number of cartridges which each man is possessed of, and at evening roll-calling have them examined, as directed in the said order, when, if any are wanting and cannot be accounted for, the delinquent, over and above the punishment due to

* The copy in 4 Force's "American Archives," III. 250, names also Thomas Chase, who is mentioned in both Henshaw and Force's copies of the orders of August 17th in similar terms. Chase is not named in Fenno's Orderly Book under either date; but under August 17th Fenno's copy reads, "Samuel Brewer, Esq., is to continue to do the duty of brigade-major to General Thomas's brigade." A similar entry appears in Henshaw's copy under date of August 30th. Fenno's Orderly Book was no doubt transcribed at a later date, after the original mistake had been rectified. — Eds.

his offence, is to be charged with the deficiency, and so much of his pay stopped accordingly.

Head-quarters, August 16th, 1775.

Parole, "CUMBERLAND"; countersign, "DUNSTABLE."

Captain Eleazer Lindsey, of Colonel Gerrish's regiment, tried by a general court-martial for absenting himself from his post, which was attacked and abandoned to the enemy; the court, on consideration, are of opinion that Captain Lindsey be discharged the service, as a person improper to sustain a commission.

John Parke, Esq., is appointed an assistant to the Quartermaster-General: he is to be obeyed as such.

Head-quarters, August 17th, 1775.

Parole, "EXETER"; countersign, "FALKLAND."

Thomas Chase, Esq., is to continue to do duty as a major of brigade, to Brigadier-General Thomas's brigade.

Mr. Ezekiel Cheever is appointed commissary of artillery stores. The Quartermaster-General, Commissary-General, and Commissary of Artillery are to make exact returns of all the stores, provisions, and necessities of every kind within their several departments; and they are to lose no time in collecting the several articles which may be in the hands of committees or other persons into their immediate care, and they are to be answerable for the disposal of them.

The commanding officer of artillery is to see that all the ordnance stores are faithfully collected, and put under the care of the commissary of the artillery; and the commissary of artillery is to see that all the powder, lead, and flints are placed in the magazines appointed to receive them.

The muster-master-general, Stephen Moylan, Esq., to proceed as expeditiously as possible in mustering the troops; and, when he has delivered his blank rolls to the several regiments and corps, he is to fix the days for mustering each brigade, with the Adjutant-General, who will give directions accordingly.

The army being regularly brigaded, and a major of brigade appointed and fixed to each brigade, they are to keep an exact roster of duty for the officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers of their respective brigades. The Adjutant-General will assist them with the best form of a roster, and earnestly recommend the use thereof. All duties of honor begin with the eldest officer of each rank, and duties of fatigue with the youngest. Each major of brigade will forthwith fix upon a proper spot, as near as can be to the centre of the brigade, for a general parade of the brigade, where all parties with or without arms are to be regularly paraded and march off in presence of the major of brigade; and the General expects that the majors of brigade are not only alert, but exact, in the performance of this duty.

The court-martial ordered for the trial of Colonel Mansfield to sit to-morrow morning at eight o'clock, at the college chapel, for the trial

of Colonel Gerrish. All evidences and persons concerned to attend the court.

Head-quarters, August 18th, 1775.

Parole, "GLOUCESTER"; countersign, "HARTFORD."

John Connor, of Captain Oliver's company, Colonel Doolittle's regiment, tried at a general court-martial for stealing a cheese, the property of Richard Comel,* is found guilty of the charge, and adjudged to receive thirty-nine lashes upon his bare back. The General approves the sentence, and orders it to be executed at the relieving main guard, at the head of the two guards.

Joseph Matthews, of Captain Perkins's company of artillery, tried by the same general court-martial for selling his gun, which the selectmen of his town had given him, and drawing pay for a blanket, furnished by said selectmen. The court sentence the prisoner to receive ten lashes upon his bare back, and order twelve shillings to be stopped from his wages, to repay Captain Perkins for the blanket. The General approves the sentence, and orders it to be executed at the head of the guards where the company the prisoner belongs to is posted.

Head-quarters, August 19th, 1775.

Parole, "JERSEY"; countersign, "KENDAL."

Colonel Samuel Gerrish, of the Massachusetts forces, tried by a general court-martial, of which Brigadier-General Green was president, is unanimously found guilty of the charge exhibited against him, — that he behaved unworthy an officer, [and†] that he is guilty of a breach of the forty-ninth article of the Rules and Regulations of the Massachusetts Army. The court therefore sentence and adjudge the said Colonel Gerrish to be cashiered, and rendered incapable of any employment in the American army. The General approves the sentence of the court-martial, and orders it to take place immediately.

Head-quarters, August 20th, 1775.

Parole, "LEBANON"; countersign, "MANSFIELD."

In obedience to the orders of the 5th instant, the brigadier-general and field-officers chosen by ballot have made report to his Excellency the Commander-in-chief of the final settlement of the rank of all the regiments and officers in the army of the United Colonies. The General entirely approves of the proceedings of the brigadiers and the field-officers, and thanks them in this public manner for the great care and pains they have taken in establishing a point of so much importance to the army. His Excellency strictly commands all officers and soldiers to pay all due obedience to the regulation so established.

The Adjutant-General will deliver to each major of brigade, this day,

* In Fenno's Orderly Book, the name is "Campbell"; in 4 Force's "American Archives," III. 252, it is "Cornell," which may, perhaps, be the name intended by Colonel Henshaw. — Eds.

† Supplied from Fenno's Orderly Book. — Eds.

at orderly-time, a copy of the rank of the regiments, of the field-officers, and of the officers of every regiment in their respective brigades.

A court of inquiry to sit this day, at three in the afternoon, to examine into the reasons of a complaint exhibited against Colonel Ebenezer Bridge.

Brigadier-General Heath, *President*.

MEMBERS.

Colonel Prescott.
Colonel Sargeant.

Colonel Woodbridge.
Lieut.-Colonel Johannot.

Head-quarters, August 21st, 1775.

Parole, "NORFOLK"; countersign, "OPORTO."

The court of inquiry ordered to sit yesterday upon Colonel Ebenezer Bridge, to sit this day, at three o'clock, P.M.

Michael Berry, tried by a late general court-martial for stealing a hat from Captain Waterman, is found guilty, and sentenced to receive thirty lashes; but, in consideration of his long confinement, the General pardons the prisoner.

General Sullivan's brigade to be mustered to-morrow: the muster-master-general to begin with the regiment posted on the left of the lines exactly at six o'clock, with the next regiment on the left at seven o'clock, and so on, until the whole are mustered. The field and staff officers of each regiment are to be mustered in the eldest captain's company; and such as were drafted to the regiment of artillery are to be mustered only to the day they were drafted. The regiment of artillery to muster them from that time.

A sergeant, corporal, and nine men to mount guard to-morrow morning, at Mr. Fairweather's house, lately converted into an hospital. The sergeant to receive his order from Dr. Church, director of the hospital.

Head-quarters, August 22d, 1775.

Parole, "PORTSMOUTH"; countersign, "QUINCY."

As the muster-rolls cannot be properly prepared before Saturday next, the General defers the mustering of the brigade upon the left of the lines until next Monday, when the mustering the whole will take place without interruption.

Captain Pearl, of Colonel Woodbridge's regiment, tried by a general court-martial, for defrauding his men of their pay. The court are unanimously of opinion that the complaint is in no part supported, and, being vexatious and groundless, acquit Captain Pearl. The court order the chief complainant, Daniel Davids, to be confined.

The General does not mean to discourage the practice of bathing whilst the weather is warm enough to continue it, but he expressly forbids any person's doing it at or near the bridge in Cambridge, where it has been observed and complained of that many men, lost to all sense of decency and common modesty, are running about naked upon the bridge, while passengers, and even ladies of the first fashion in the

neighborhood, are passing over it, as if they meant to glory in their shame. The guard and sentries at the bridge are to put a stop to this practice, for the future.

The director-general of the hospital having complained that the sick under his care are not only incommoded by a promiscuous resort of soldiers to the rooms, but greatly injured by having improper things carried them to eat; at the same time, that many disorders, under which the sick are suffering, may be by them contracted and spread in the camp, by means of this intercourse, — it is therefore ordered, that this improper visitation be put a stop to for the future. No non-commissioned officer or soldier to be admitted into the hospital hereafter, without the leave of the surgeon then in attendance, or by a written license from the colonel or commanding officer of the regiment they belong to; in either of which case, the friends to the sick, and all those who have any real business with them, will never be denied the privilege and satisfaction of visiting.

Representation being made to the Commander-in-chief that officers are frequently seen in Cambridge, Watertown, and the towns and villages around the camp, without any leave of absence previously obtained, and contrary to all good discipline and order; and as such irregularity at this time may be productive of the worst of consequences, the General directs the commanding officers of corps to be particularly attentive to the behavior of all their officers in this particular, and, without favor or affection, confine any officers who are absent from the camp, or the lines where he is posted or encamped, without leave, in writing, first had and obtained from the general commanding the brigade; and the commanding officers of regiments are strictly enjoined to put in arrest any officer who shall for the future disobey this order.

When officers set good examples, it may be expected that the men will, with zeal and alacrity, follow them; but it would be mere phenomenon in nature to find a well-disciplined soldiery where officers are relaxed and tardy in their duty; nor can they, with any kind of propriety or good conscience, sit in judgment upon a soldier for disobeying an order which they themselves are every day breaking. The General is sorry — exceeding sorry — to find occasion to give such repeated orders on this head. But as the safety of the army and salvation of the country may essentially depend upon a strictness of discipline, and close attention to duty, he will give no countenance nor show any favor to delinquents.

Head-quarters, August 23d, 1775.

Parole, “RUMNEY”; countersign, “SUMMERSETT.”

Head-quarters, August 24th, 1775.

Parole, “TUNBRIDGE”; countersign, “ULSTER.”

Lieutenant W^m Ryan, of Colonel Nixon's regiment, tried by a general court-martial, of which Lieut-Colonel Brickett was president, is found guilty of a breach of the sixth and forty-ninth articles of

the Rules and Regulations of the Massachusetts Army, and is unanimously adjudged to be cashiered. The General approves the sentence, and orders it to take place immediately.

The Quartermaster-General is to see that the different brigades, or at least each division of the army, are provided with armorers sufficient to keep the arms therein in proper repair; that they have proper places provided to work in; that they are properly attended, to prevent impositions of any kind.

He is also to employ brick-makers, under the care of Captain Francis, of Colonel Mansfield's regiment, and set them to make bricks, immediately. The necessary attendance is to be applied for, by Captain Francis, to the Adjutant-General.

The Quartermaster-General is also to receive from the general court of the Massachusetts government, or from such persons as they shall appoint to deliver them, all the shirts, shoes and stockings, breeches and waistcoats, which have been provided by the Committee of Safety for the use of the army, and settle for the same, and not deliver any from his store without an order in writing from the Commander-in-chief.

An exact return of the company of artificers, under the care of Mr. Ayres, to be given in, where they have been at work, and how employed.

The General would be glad to have the Rules and Regulations of War (as established by the Continental Congress) returned to him, signed, as he will thereupon proceed to distribute the Continental commissions agreeable to the ranks lately settled. The late paymaster of the Massachusetts troops is once more called upon in a peremptory manner to settle his accounts with the different regiments, that it may be known what money is due to the men, up to the first of this month (August). The General is very sorry that any difficulty or delay should have happened in a matter so plain and simple in its nature. He now assures the regiments of the Massachusetts,—as they seem to be the only complainants and sufferers,—that if they do not get paid by their own colony paymaster before the first day of September, that he will order James Warren, Esq., Continental paymaster-general, to pay each of the Massachusetts regiments for the month of August; and that he will, moreover, use his endeavors to have their pay, up to the first of August, settled for and adjusted as soon as possible.

Twenty men from Colonel Mansfield's regiment, and ten from Colonel Gardner's, and two from each of the other regiments in the lines and in Cambridge, to be sent to join Captain Francis, of Colonel Mansfield's regiment, to be forthwith employed in making bricks. None but men who are acquainted with that service to be sent upon it.

Colonel Prescott, with two companies of his regiment, to march to Sewall's Point this day. The Colonel will apply to the Quartermaster-General for the tents that will be wanted for this detachment.

Head-quarters, August 25th, 1775.

Parole, "WILMINGTON"; countersign, "YORKSHIRE."

If the officers who were sent upon the recruiting service are not all returned to camp, they are to be forthwith recalled, and no more men are to be enlisted until further orders.

The company late under the command of Captain Ebenezer Lindsey is to join Colonel Woodbridge's regiment, as that regiment has at present only nine companies.

As the Commander-in-chief has heretofore approved all the sentences of the general court-martials which have been laid before him, and thought himself happy in agreeing with them in opinion, so will he not now disapprove the judgment respecting Ensign Joshua Trofton, as the court have intimated that they were influenced by some favorable circumstances. Disobedience of orders is amongst the first and most atrocious of all military crimes. He desires that the conduct of Ensign Joshua Trofton, however he may have been provoked, may never be drawn into a precedent, as there are certain modes by which inferior officers may obtain redress of grievances without proceeding to any unjustifiable acts of violence.

Ensign Joshua Trofton, of 30th regiment of foot, in the service of the United Colonies, commanded by Colonel Scammons, tried by a general court-martial for offering to strike his colonel, and for disobedience of orders, is found guilty of a breach of the sixth article of the Rules and Regulations of the Massachusetts Army, and sentenced to be confined to his tent for three days.

A return, signed by the commanding officer of each regiment, of the commissioned officers vacant; distinguishing their names, rank, and by what means vacant. This must be delivered to the Adjutant-General, at orderly time to-morrow.

Head-quarters, August 26th, 1775.

Parole, "AMBOY"; countersign, "BROOKLINE."

General Sullivan's brigade to be mustered upon Monday morning next, in the manner and form directed by the general orders of the 21st instant.

Head-quarters, August 27th, 1775.

Parole, "COLCHESTER"; countersign, "DOVER."

Head-quarters, August 28th, 1775.

Parole, "ESSEX"; countersign, "FALMOUTH."

As the extraordinary duty necessary for some days past prevents the mustering General Sullivan's brigade this morning, the General appoints Friday morning next for that purpose, and orders that brigade to be relieved from all but the necessary camp duty of their particular encampments Thursday morning, that they [may] have that day to prepare for their mustering.

As nothing is more pernicious to the health of soldiers, nor more certainly productive of the bloody flux, than drinking new cider, the General, in the most positive manner, commands the entire disuse of the same; and orders the Quartermaster-General this day to publish advertisements to acquaint the inhabitants of the surrounding districts,

that such of them as are detected bringing new cider into the camp, after Thursday, the last day of this month, may depend on having their casks stove.

Head-quarters, August 29th, 1775.

Parole, "GEORGIA"; countersign, "HARVARD."

For the future, the several guards mounted upon the general hospitals are to be reduced into one guard, consisting of one subaltern, three sergeants, one fife, three corporals, and thirty men. The officer, after seeing his sentries posted, is to receive his orders from Dr. Church, director-general of the hospital of the army of the United Colonies. The Quartermaster-General and Commissary-General are to see strict regard paid to the sixth article of the General Orders of the 7th July last, as complaints are continually making of the badness of the bread served to the regiments.

Head-quarters, August 30th, 1775.

Parole, "IRELAND"; countersign, "KINGSTON."

One field-officer, six captains, twelve subalterns, twelve sergeants, twelve corporals, two drums, two fifes, and three hundred soldiers from Heath's brigade, and the same from the Cambridge brigade, to parade as soon as the weather is fair, to march to Ploughed Hill. One surgeon and one mate from each brigade, to be provided with proper instruments and dressings, are to be ready to march with the above detachment.

By the orders of the 17th instant, Thomas Chase, Esq., was, to the prejudice of Samuel Brewer, Esq., through mistake, appointed to be continued to do duty to Brigadier-General Thomas's brigade, as major of brigade. His Excellency orders that mistake to be rectified, and directs Samuel Brewer to be continued to act as major of brigade to Brigadier-General Thomas. He is to be obeyed as such.

Head-quarters, August 31st, 1775.

Parole, "LONDON"; countersign, "MONMOUTH."

The colonel or officer commanding each regiment of the Massachusetts forces are, without delay, to make out an exact abstract for the month of August of the pay due to the officers and soldiers of each regiment, who were effective in the said regiment during that month, and who now continue to be effective in the same. This abstract must be signed by the colonel or officer commanding each regiment of the Massachusetts, and forthwith delivered by him to the Commander-in-chief, to the end that each of those regiments may immediately be paid one month's pay.

Head-quarters, September 1st, 1775.

Parole, "NEWHAVEN"; countersign, "ORMOND."

Complaint has been made to the General that the body of a soldier of Colonel Woodbridge's regiment has been taken from his grave by persons unknown. The General and friends of the deceased are desir-

ous of all the information that can be given of the perpetrators of this abominable crime, that he or they may be made an example, to deter others from committing so wicked and shameful an offence.

The magazine guard in the rear of General Sullivan's brigade to be relieved to-morrow morning.

Head-quarters, September 2d, 1775.

Parole, "PORTUGAL"; countersign, "QUEBEC."

Captain Edward Crafts, of Colonel Gridley's regiment of artillery, tried yesterday by a general court-martial, is acquitted of that part of the charge against him which relates to defrauding of his men; and the court are also of opinion that no part of the charge against the prisoner is proved, except that of using abusive expressions to Major Gridley, which, being a breach of the forty-ninth article of the Rules and Regulations for the Massachusetts Army, sentence the prisoner to receive a severe reprimand from the lieutenant-colonel of the artillery, in the presence of all the officers of the regiment, and that he at the same time ask pardon of Major Gridley for the said abusive language.

Lieutenant Russell, of Captain Symond's company, in the twenty-first regiment of foot, tried by the above court-martial for disobedience of orders, is unanimously acquitted by the court.

The General confirms the proceedings and sentence of the above court-martial.

Head-quarters, September 3d, 1775.

Parole, "ROXBURY"; countersign, "SCHENACTADY."

Benjamin Child, soldier in Colonel Glover's regiment, and in Captain Broughton's company, tried by a general court-martial, upon an appeal from a regimental court-martial. The court were unanimously of opinion the proceeding of the regimental court-martial was irregular, and therefore acquit the prisoner.

Head-quarters, September 4th, 1775.

Parole, "TORRINGTON"; countersign, "URBANNA." *

Head-quarters, September 5th, 1775.

Parole, "WALTHAM"; countersign, "YORK."

The general court-martial whereof Colonel Experience Storrs was president is dissolved. Captain Moses Hart, of the twenty-eighth regiment of foot, tried by the above-mentioned general court-martial, is found guilty of drawing for more provisions than he was entitled to, and for unjustly confining and abusing his men. He is unanimously sentenced to be cashiered. The General approves the sentence, and orders it to take place immediately. A detachment, consisting of two lieutenant-colonels, two majors, ten captains, thirty subalterns, thirty sergeants, thirty corporals, four drummers, two fifers, and six hundred and seventy-six privates, to parade to-morrow morning at eleven o'clock,

* Fenno's Orderly Book reads "Albany." — Eds.

upon the Common in Cambridge, to go upon command with Colonel Arnold, of Connecticut. One company of Virginia riflemen, and two companies from Colonel Thompson's Pennsylvania regiment of riflemen, to parade at the same time and place, to join the above detachment. Tents and necessaries proper and convenient for the whole will be supplied by the Quartermaster-General immediately upon the detachment being collected. As it is imagined the officers and men sent from the regiments, both here and at Roxbury, will be such volunteers as are active woodsmen, and well acquainted with bateaux, so it is recommended that none but such will offer themselves for this service. Colonel Arnold and the Adjutant-General will attend upon the Common in Cambridge to-morrow, in the forenoon, to receive and parade their detachments. The Quartermaster-General will be also there, to supply tents, &c.

The colonels and commanding officers of the Massachusetts regiments who have delivered in the pay abstracts at head-quarters are immediately to apply to the General for his warrant upon the Paymaster-General, James Warren, Esq., for the pay for the month of August, agreeable to the General Order of the 31st of last month.

As great complaints have heretofore been made by the men in regard to their pay, the General expects the utmost exactness and despatch be made in this payment.

Head-quarters, September 6th, 1775.

Parole, "ALBANY"; countersign, "BOLINGBROKE."

Whereas, a number of pretended sutlers, utterly disregarding the good of the service, sell liquor to every one indiscriminately, to the utter subversion of all order and good government, the troops being continually debauched, which causes them to neglect their duty, and to be guilty of all those crimes which a vicious ill habit naturally produces: to prevent such evils from spreading in the camp, no person is for the future to presume to sell any stores or liquor to the troops, unless he be first appointed sutler to some regiment by the colonel or officer commanding the same, who will immediately punish such sutler for any transgression of the rules and orders he is directed to observe. And if any person, not regularly authorized and appointed, shall presume to sell liquor or stores to the troops in the camp, it is recommended to the Brigadier-General to issue an order for securing their persons and effects: the delinquent to be punished at the discretion of a general court-martial, and his effects to be applied for the refreshment of the fatigue-men and out-guards belonging to the brigade. This order is not meant to extend to those sutlers who are appointed by government, and who are permitted to act as sutlers to the regiments for which they were appointed, they being subject to all rules and regulations of the army, the same as if appointed by the colonels.

As the remoteness of some of the regiments from head-quarters renders it difficult to send invitations to the officers, the Commander-in-chief requests, for the future, that the field-officer of the day, the officer of his own guard, and the adjutant of the day, consider them-

selves invited to dine at head-quarters; and this general invitation they are desired to accept accordingly.

Head-quarters, September 7th, 1775.

Parole, "CAMBRIDGE"; countersign, "DORCHESTER."

Repeated complaints being made by the regimental surgeons that they are not all allowed proper necessaries for the use of the sick, before they become fit objects for the general hospital; and the director-general of the hospital complains, that, contrary to the rules of every established army, these regimental hospitals are more expensive than can be conceived, which plainly indicates that there is either an unpardonable abuse on one side, or an inexcusable neglect on the other; and whereas, the General is exceeding desirous of having the utmost care taken of the sick (wherever placed, and in every stage of their disorder), but at the same time is determined not to suffer any impositions upon the public: he requires, and orders, that the brigadier-general, with the commanding officers of each regiment in the brigade, do sit as a court of inquiry into the causes of these complaints, and that they summon the director-general of the hospital and their several regimental surgeons before them, and have the whole matter investigated and reported. This inquiry to begin on the left of the line to-morrow, at the hour of ten, in General Sullivan's brigade.

When a soldier is so sick that it is no longer safe or proper for him to remain in camp, he should be sent to the general hospital. There is no need of regimental hospitals without the camp, when there is a general hospital so near, and so well appointed.

Colonel Thompson's regiment of riflemen to be mustered to-morrow morning, at seven o'clock. General Green's brigade to be mustered Saturday morning, at the same hour. This corps are to be one day off duty previous to their being mustered.

Head-quarters, September 8th, 1775.

Parole, "EDENTON"; countersign, "FALKLAND."

Captain Perry, of Colonel Walker's regiment, tried by a general court-martial whereof Colonel Alden was president, for permitting persons to pass the lines on Boston Neck, is found guilty of the crime laid to his charge; but, from alleviating circumstances, is sentenced to be severely reprimanded at the head of his regiment. The General approves the sentence, and orders it to be put in execution accordingly.

The detachments going under the command of Colonel Arnold to be forthwith taken off the roll of duty, and to march this evening to Cambridge Common, where tents, and every thing necessary, is provided for their reception. The rifle company at Roxbury and those from Prospect Hill to march early to-morrow morning to join the above detachment. Such officers and men as are taken from General Green's brigade for the above detachment are to attend the muster of their respective regiments to-morrow morning, at seven o'clock, upon Prospect Hill. When the muster is finished, they are forthwith to rejoin the detachment at Cambridge.

Head-quarters, September 9th, 1775.

Parole, "GENEVA"; countersign, "HARTFORD."

The major-general commanding the division of the army posted between Prospect Hill and Cambridge River is to be very exact in obliging the colonel and field-officers to lay in the encampment of their respective regiments, and particularly the colonel and lieutenant-colonel of the thirtieth regiment.

Head-quarters, September 10th, 1775.

Parole, "INDOSTAN"; countersign, "KENDALL."

Head-quarters, September 11th, 1775.

Parole, "LANCASTER"; countersign, "MIDDLETON."

Colonel Eben^r Bridge, of the twenty-seventh regiment of foot, in the service of the United Colonies, tried at a general court-martial, whereof Brigadier-General Green was president, for misbehavior and neglect of duty in the action at Bunker's Hill, on the 17th of June last. The court are of opinion that indisposition of body rendered the prisoner incapable of action, and do therefore acquit him.

Ensign Moses How, of Colonel David Brewer's regiment, tried by a general court-martial, whereof Colonel Alden was president, for contempt of the service. The court, after due examination of the evidence, acquit the prisoner.

Ensign Levi Bowen, of the said regiment, and tried by the same general court-martial for absconding from his regiment without leave. The court find the prisoner guilty of the crime laid to his charge, and do therefore sentence him to be cashiered.

General Heath's brigade to be mustered upon Thursday morning next, at seven o'clock; and Colonel Frye's brigade, upon Saturday morning, at the same hour.

Colonel Thompson's battalion of riflemen, posted upon Prospect Hill, to take their share of all duty of guard and fatigue with the brigade they encamp with. A general court-martial to sit as soon as possible to try the men of that regiment who are now prisoners in the main guard and at Prospect Hill, and accused of mutinying.

The riflemen posted at Roxbury and towards Lechmere's Point are to do duty with the brigade they are posted with.

The general court-martial to meet to-morrow morning at seven o'clock, to consist of three field-officers and two captains.

Head-quarters, September 12th, 1775.

Parole, "NEWBURY"; countersign, "OGDEN."

Head-quarters, September 13th, 1775.

Parole, "PEMBROKE"; countersign, "QUEBEC."

The thirty-three riflemen of Colonel Thompson's battalion, tried yesterday by a general court-martial, whereof Colonel Nixon was

president, for disobedient and mutinous behavior, are each of them sentenced to pay the sum of twenty shillings, except John Leamon, who, over and above his fine, is to suffer six days' imprisonment. The paymaster of the regiment to stop the fine from each man out of their next month's pay, which must be paid to Dr. Church, for the use of the general hospital.

Head-quarters, September 14th, 1775.

Parole, "ROXBOROUGH"; countersign, "SALEM."

In obedience to the general order of the 7th instant, the inquiry into the conduct of Dr. Church, the director-general of the hospital, and the respective regimental surgeons, has been held in General Sullivan's brigade; that being finished, the General orders the like to be held forthwith in General Green's brigade.

Head-quarters, September 15th, 1775.

Parole, "PITTSBURG"; countersign, "ULSTER."

Colonel John Mansfield, of the nineteenth regiment of foot, tried at a general court-martial, whereof Brigadier-General Green was president, for remissness and backwardness in the execution of his duty at the late engagement on Bunker's Hill. The court found the prisoner guilty of the charge, and of a breach of the forty-ninth article of the Rules and Regulations of the Massachusetts Army, and therefore sentence him to be cashiered, and rendered unfit to serve in the Continental army. The General approves the sentence, and directs it to take place immediately.

Moses Pickett, soldier in Captain Merritt's company, in Colonel Glover's regiment, tried at a general court-martial for disobedience of orders and damning his officer, is found guilty, and sentenced to receive thirty lashes upon his bare back, and afterwards drummed out of the regiment. The General orders the punishment to be inflicted at the head of the regiment to-morrow morning, at troop-beating.

As Colonel Frye's brigade is to be mustered to-morrow morning, General Heath's brigade will furnish the guards in and about Cambridge for to-morrow.

No returns to be made next Saturday.

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Major Lee.

Adjutant of the day, ——— Doliver.

Head-quarters, September 16th, 1775.

Parole, "WILMINGTON"; countersign, "YORK."

James Finley, sergeant in Captain Price's company of riflemen, tried by a general court-martial for expressing himself disrespectfully of the Continental association, and drinking General Gage's health. The court sentence the prisoner to be deprived of his arms and accoutrements, put in a horse-cart, with a rope round his neck, and drummed out of the army, and rendered for ever incapable of serving in the Continental army.

John Cotton, sergeant in Colonel Cotton's regiment, tried by the

same general court-martial for defrauding the regiment of part of their allowance of provisions. The court sentence the prisoner to refund and pay back fourteen pounds, six shillings, and four pence to said regiment, and be disqualified to serve in said regiment as quartermaster-sergeant for the future.

Head-quarters, September 17th, 1775.

Parole, "ANDOVER"; countersign, "BEVERLY."

The Rev. Mr. John Murray is appointed chaplain to the Rhode Island regiment, and is to be respected as such. Colonel Prescott being taken sick, Lieutenant-Colonel Johonnot, of the twenty-first regiment, is to go forthwith to Sewall's Point, to take the command of that regiment.

Head-quarters, September 18th, 1775.

Parole, "BRUNSWICK"; countersign, "CAMBRIDGE."

The inquiry into the conduct of Dr. Church, director-general of the hospital, and of the respective regimental surgeons, to be held to-morrow morning, in General Heath's brigade.

Head-quarters, September 19th, 1775.

Parole, "DANVERS"; countersign, "ESSEX."

Head-quarters, September 20th, 1775.

Parole, "FALMOUTH"; countersign, "GLOUCESTER."

As the commissions are ready to be delivered to the officers serving in the army of the United Colonies, the General recommends it to them to apply, as soon as it is convenient, to him, at head-quarters, for the same. No person is to presume to demand a Continental commission who is not in actual possession of the like commission from the proper authority of the colony he is at present engaged to serve, which must be produced at the time application is made for a Continental commission. If, from unavoidable circumstances, any gentleman has served from the beginning of the campaign in the rank of a commissioned officer, and has not yet received a commission, being justly entitled thereto, such officer's pretensions will be duly weighed and considered; and, upon sufficient proof of the justice of his claim, a commission will issue accordingly. The General expects that every officer delivers his present commission, or claim to a commission, to his colonel, or officer commanding the regiment; and each colonel, or officer commanding a regiment, is forthwith to apply to the General for the commissions for the officers of his respective regiments. The colonel of the first, second, and third regiments to apply to-morrow morning, at nine o'clock; and so on, day by day, until the whole are supplied. Three regiments to apply each day.

Head-quarters, September 21st, 1775.

Parole, "HANOVER"; countersign, "IPSWICH."

Whereas, frequent applications are making to the General, Com-

mander-in-chief, by officers of all ranks and denominations, for an allowance of rations of provisions, which are not only absolutely necessary, but usually and customarily allowed to them, the General has thought proper to order and direct, that from the first day of July last there be issued by the commissary-general the following proportion of rations, viz. :—

To each major-general	15 rations.
„ „ brigadier-general	12 „
„ „ colonel	6 „
„ „ lieutenant-colonel	5 „
„ „ major	4 „
„ „ captain	3 „
„ „ subaltern	2 „
„ „ staff-officer	2 „

Head-quarters, September 22d, 1775.

Parole, “LYNN”; countersign, “MARBLEHEAD.”

The under-named prisoners, tried by a general court-martial for mutiny, riot, and disobedience of orders, are severally guilty of the crimes wherewith they are accused; and the court, upon due consideration of the evidences, do adjudge that the prisoner, Joseph Seales, receive thirty-nine lashes upon his bare back, and be drummed out of the army; and that the prisoners, John Gillard, Jacob Smallwood, John Peltro, Samuel Grant, Hugh Renny, James Jeffry, Charles Alcraïn, Samuel Hannis, Charles Pearce, James Williams, John Kelly, John Bryan, and Philip Florence, do each of them receive twenty lashes upon his bare back, and be drummed out of the army; the prisoners, Lawrence Blake, Samuel Bodine, John Besom, Benj^s Bartholomew, Francis Ellis, Joseph Lawrence, John Sharp, John Poor, Joseph Fessenden, John Foster, John Lis, Lawrence Bartlet, Philip Greaty, Peter Newell, Samuel Parsons, Jeremiah Daily, Francis Greateon, Richard Pendrick, Robert Hooper, Anthony Lewis, Nicholas Ogleby, and Thomas Metyard, be fined twenty shillings lawful money each, — Joseph Foster, Joseph Lawrence, and Joseph Fessenden being recommended by the court-martial as proper objects of mercy. The Commander-in-chief is pleased to remit their fine, and to order the sentence upon all the others to be put in execution, at guard-mounting, to-morrow morning. Those upon Prospect Hill to receive their punishment there; the rest at the main-guard.*

John George Frazer, Esq., being appointed assistant to the Quarter-Master-General for the district of Prospect and Winter Hill, he is to be obeyed as such.

Colonel Starks, of New Hampshire, having complained that, through mistake or inadvertency in the court which was appointed to settle the rank of the regiments and officers of this army, he had not justice

* The copy of this order in 4 Force's “American Archives,” III. 855, has John Lee instead of Lis, Peter Neivelle instead of Newell, and Francis Greater instead of Greateon. The last two variations are probably misprints. — Eds.

done him, even upon the principles which they themselves had laid down for their government in that matter, the General orders that the brigadier and the six field-officers who composed that court do sit to-morrow morning, at nine o'clock, to inquire into the cause of this complaint. At the same time, if Colonel Doolittle, who has also expressed some dissatisfaction on account of his rank, can urge any thing new to the court, he may be heard.

The court are desired, likewise, to settle the rank of the officers of the rifle companies posted at Roxbury.

Head-quarters, September 23d, 1775.

Parole, "NEWBURY"; countersign, "PLYMOUTH."

Officer of the day for to-morrow, Major Woods.

Adjutant of the day, —— Tyler.

Head-quarters, September 24th, 1775.

Parole, "QUEBEC"; countersign, "RICHMOND."

Major Scarborough Gridley, tried at a late general court-martial, whereof Brigadier-General Green was president, for being deficient in his duty upon the 17th of June last, the day of the action upon Bunker's Hill. The court find Major Scarborough Gridley guilty of a breach of orders. They do therefore dismiss him from the Massachusetts service; but on account of his inexperience and youth, and the great confusion which attended that day's transaction in general, they do not consider him incapable of a Continental commission, should the general officers recommend him to his Excellency. The General confirms the dismissal of Major Scarborough Gridley, and orders it to take place accordingly.

George Hamilton, soldier in Captain Dexter's company, in Colonel Woodbridge's regiment, tried at a general court-martial, whereof Colonel Nixon was president, for stealing a blue great-coat, the property of Solomon Lathrop. The court find the prisoner guilty of the charge, and sentence him to receive thirty lashes upon the bare back, and to be drummed out of the army; and order his captain to deduct 10s. 10d. lawful money out of his pay, and pay it to Mr. Penyer, for so much paid by him to the prisoner on the coat, and that the coat be returned to Mr. Lathrop. Jonathan Sharpe, of Captain Loise's company, in Colonel Phinney's regiment, tried at the same court-martial for stealing cartridges from his comrades, is acquitted. The General orders the sentence upon the prisoner Hamilton to be executed, and the prisoner Sharpe to be released.

The General directs the following minutes from the House of Representatives of this colony to be inserted in the General Orders: —

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Sept. 23, 1775.

Resolved, that the Speaker, Mr. Gerry, and Major Hawley be, and they hereby are, appointed a committee to apply to his Excellency, George Washington, Esq., with a desire of this House, that he will as soon as may be, cause a return to be made of the names of the

officers and men to each regiment established by this Colony, and now in the American army, respectively belonging, including such of each regiment as are deceased since its establishment, or have been drafted for the detachment ordered to Quebec, and specifying the names of the towns and other places from which they were respectively enlisted, in order to enable the court to rectify and prevent any error in accounts which have been, or may be, rendered for payment of blankets and other articles supplied the soldiers according to the terms of their enlistments.

A true copy from the minutes.

Attest :

SAMUEL FREEMAN, *Clerk.*

The inquiry into the conduct of Dr. Church, director-general of the hospital, and the respective regimental surgeons, to be held to-morrow, in Colonel Frye's brigade.

The general court-martial whereof General Green was president is dissolved.

Head-quarters, Cambridge, September 25th, 1775.

Parole, "SANDWICH"; countersign, "TRURO."

As frequent applications to the majors-general for furloughs have become very troublesome, and takes up much of their time, the following method of granting them, for the future, is to be observed, and under no pretence whatsoever to be dispensed with, until further orders on this head; viz.: The colonel, or commanding officers of regiments or corps, when they find it really requisite, and not else, have permission to give furloughs to the non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the corps they respectively command, provided they do not suffer more than two privates to be absent at any one time from a company, and not more than one non-commissioned officer; nor allowing any person to be absent from his duty more than twenty days in six months. In extraordinary cases, a further indulgence may be given by the general of brigade, upon application from the colonel. All commissioned officers are to apply for leave of absence through their own colonel or commanding officer, to the general of brigade to which they belong, who is desired never to suffer more than one field-officer and four others to be absent at any one time from a regiment, nor for more than twenty days in six months. In extraordinary cases, a further indulgence may be given by the major-general commanding each division, upon the application of the brigadiers of his division.

As the committee have settled the rank between Colonel Stark and Colonel Jon^a Brewer, the General desires the colonels of the regiments Nos. 6, 7, and 8 will apply immediately for Continental commissions for the officers of their respective corps; and that the three next regiments in succession will apply to-morrow morning; and so three every morning afterwards, until the whole are served.

Head-quarters, September 26th, 1775.

Parole, "VIRGINIA"; countersign, "WALTHAM."

For the future, the weekly returns on Saturdays are to be made

in the old form. The majors of brigade will give printed forms, as usual, to the adjutants of every brigade, at orderly time, to-morrow.

Rank of the Regiments of Foot in the service of the United Colonies.

Colonels.	Lieut.-Colonels.	Majors.
1. Frye.	1. Wyman.	1. Poor.
2. Thompson.	2. Tyler.	2. Clarke.
3. Reed.	3. Hand.	3. Bowne.
4. Learnerd.	4. Glaveland.	4. Holman.
5. Nixon.	5. McDuffee.	5. Jackson.
6. J. Brewer.	6. Hutchinson.	6. Wiston.
7. Stark.	7. Shepard.	7. Putnam.
8. Fellows.	8. Moulton.	8. Prentice.
9. D. Brewer.	9. Nixon.	9. McGaw.
10. Prescott.	10. Holden.	10. Green.
11. Poor.	11. March.	11. Sawyer.
12. Varnum.	12. Alden.	12. Smith.
13. Parsons.	13. Eager.	13. Cilly.
14. Hitchcock.	14. Putnam.	14. Angell.
15. Church.	15. Cornell.	15. Tupper.
16. Cotton.	16. Babcock.	16. Sprout.
17. Little.	17. Pitkin.	17. D. Wood.
18. Danielson.	18. Stores.	18. Sherburne.
19. Mansfield.	19. Smith.	19. Buttrick.
20. Reed.	20. Clapp.	20. Austin.
21. Glover.	21. Bond.	21. Cady.
22. Walker.	22. Gillman.	22. M. Wood.
23. Whitcomb.	23. Brickett.	23. Cudworth.
24. Doolittle.	24. Robertson.	24. Danielson.
25. Woodbridge.	25. Reed.	25. Leonard.
26. Patterson.	26. Baldwin.	26. Lee.
27. Bridge.	27. Keys.	27. Collins.
28. Sargeant.	28. Buckminster.	28. Hall.
29. Huntingdon.	29. Leonard.	29. Brooks.
30. Scammon.	30. Miller.	30. Stacy.
31. Phinney.	31. Whitney.	31. Mitchel.
32. Ward.	32. Johnnot.	32. Johnston.
33. Wyllis.	33. Brown.	33. Loring.
34. Stores.	34. Douglass.	34. Meigs.
35. Bailey.	35. Durkee.	35. Jacobs.
36. Greaton.	36. Thompson.	36. Biglow.
37.	37. Enon.	37. Moore.
38.	38. Mitchel.	38.
39.	39. Vose.	39.
40.	40. Barnes.	40.